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Pyadyshev on Possibility of Arms Treaty
LD011025 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

"A treaty on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons may well be drafted by the time of the Soviet-American summit in Moscow," Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and chief editor of the journal "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS", said today.

A TASS diplomatic correspondent asked him to comment on remarks made in Washington that American and Soviet experts might not be able to prepare the treaty before the Moscow summit meeting.

"With diligent work, it is quite possible to complete this arduous task," Pyadyshev observed. "This is confirmed by the experience of the vigorous effort applied by the two delegations when drafting the INF Treaty.

Time was short then, as well, but the understanding of the importance of the task imparted extra energy and dynamism to the diplomats.

Besides, we already have a model of resolving the problem of verification and inspection."

"If one is to strive towards making the Moscow summit equal in significance to the Washington meeting which produced the historic INF agreement, it is necessary to achieve tangible and real progress in the field of strategic offensive weapons," Pyadyshev pointed out.

Delegations Meet in Geneva on Arms Talks
LD010156 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0045 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva, 1 Mar (TASS)—Here on Monday [29 Feb] a plenary sitting of delegations was held at Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons.

The USSR delegation introduced new proposals aimed at drafting a treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons as soon as possible. These proposals, which in many respects take into account the stand of the U.S. side, involve the need for defining a number of very important terms being used in the treaty, and opportunities for converting ballistic missiles into systems for launching space targets.

The USSR delegation confirmed that the Soviet side aspires at the Geneva talks to step up efforts aimed at completing the drafting of the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons and all the documents that are dealing with it within the agreed time span.

It was also noted that a mood toward the implementation of the Washington accords as soon as possible was characteristic of the recent conversations and talks in Moscow during the stay of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Under these conditions, the statement made by President R. Reagan in an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper on 26 February in which the possibility of drawing up a draft treaty for the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States in time for it to be signed during the President's visit to the USSR is put in doubt and arouses surprise.

It is well-known that the joint Soviet-U.S. statement of 19 December 1987 talks about the completion of drafting the treaty and all documents connected with it in the shortest possible timespan and preferably so that it can be signed during the next meeting of the leaders of the two states. The aforementioned statement by the U.S. President runs counter to these accords. While it was agreed at the talks in Moscow with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz to speed up the drawing up of the draft treaty on strategic offensive weapons, the statement by the U.S. President of 26 February is in no way conducive to the resolution of these tasks.

As for the Soviet side, it was stressed that is in favor of the treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons with agreement being reached at the same time on the observance of the ABM Treaty being prepared for signing in time for the meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the United States in Moscow. We believe that it is quite possible to complete work in Geneva for the forthcoming summit meeting. The USSR delegation called on the U.S. side to strive to fulfill this task through joint efforts.

INF Treaty Ratification Commission Meets
LD010242 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Report on 29 February meeting of the preparatory commission of the Commissions on Foreign Affairs of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the ratification of the INF Treaty; all speakers identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Announcer] The second meeting of the preparatory commission, which took place in the Kremlin today, was devoted to discussion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Among the participants were representatives of many soviet and public organizations who, through the

nature of their work, are connected with the struggle for peace and disarmament and who took part in the working out of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

[R.G. Bogdanov, Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace] For the first time, the whole movement, the whole movement for peace, all our public power, so to speak, has received material confirmation that this is possible, that this is not simply wishes, that the years that have gone by on the organization of the movement, on the struggle, on colossal demonstrations—it turns out that all of this has been crowned with success. In my view, it was a very important element, that this is possible. In my view, we have made one convincing calculation, that the force of carriers and nuclear warheads that are now being eliminated in Europe is equal to the equivalent of 200 world wars, 200 world wars that have already taken place in Europe, that could take place. It is difficult to imagine what this would mean for Europe if this force were put into motion. On military aspects there was agreement that one can with tranquillity recommend the treaty for ratification. As far as compensation measures are concerned, there is a group of proposals such as, for example that the Supreme Soviet can appeal to parliaments and the world public, not to permit the implementation of compensation measures. Through our legislators you can give your appraisals with the aim of further mobilizing public opinion to warn of violations of international military-political stability. Security should be under the observation of the public, to an equal degree as under the observation of other departments. We should set up public verification not only over the execution of the treaty, but also over the striving of the West to violate it with so-called compensation.

[V.N. Shenayev, Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation] The Committee for European Security is also closely connected with the public in the West, in particular Western Europe, and we see that here there is also a positive view with regard to this treaty. It is necessary to say that our diplomacy and new political thinking have shown their effectiveness here, that they have penetrated not only the broad sections of our public, of which we are speaking, but also the public in the West; that the picture of an enemy is starting to erode, in particular in Western Europe, and we now observe this very clearly. But this, as I told you, was not the case from the very beginning, because this fear of losing the American umbrella was there and to a certain extent it is still there. The picture of an enemy is eroding but it still remains to a certain extent, since Western propaganda is very active in this direction, often given disinformation, erroneous information, wrong information. I would like to pinpoint attention here on one question: Now, after the treaty is ratified—if—and we hope for this, by both our side and the Western side, it is necessary to immediately transfer, without hesitation, to new actions and deeds and initiatives with regard to Western Europe.

Of course, the next treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons is very important and it is necessary to say that the public as a whole supports this in Western Europe. But for Western Europe—it is necessary for us to explain that questions connected with limiting and reducing conventional weapons, chemical, and tactical weapons are now taking on no less important significance. For them, it is a vitally important question, and here a delay would be, very, very undesirable. I would like to fully support here the representative of the Committee for the Defense of Peace on the fact that the public could make a great contribution now to the questions of monitoring and verification, which feature very importantly on the agenda. I think that the role of the public is very great; that it has played, has had a great significance in the resolution of today's issues, which now stand, and that perhaps that role will be even greater in the near future.

[G.M. Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission] Taking part today in the work of our commission is secretary of the Central Committee of the Defense Industry Trade Union and representative of the labor collective of one of the enterprises of the defense industry, the Votkinsk works, which is touched most directly by the treaty. We would like to hear how this treaty has been received in labor collectives in that sector. Please, Sergey Ivanovich...

[S.I. Shuklin, secretary of the Central Committee of the defense industry workers trade union] Like all Soviet people, the industrial, office and professional workers in the sector are peace-oriented. They do not consider it essential to prove their advantage from a position of force. We do not need to threaten anybody, for any reason, with weapons. That is why all of them, unanimously, I stress, support the policy of the party and state, aimed at reducing individual types of weapons, and vote for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We know that among opponents of the treaty there exists the view that reducing weapons production in the sector will reflect on incomes and wages of the working people employed at our enterprises and will even lead to fewer jobs. I state with all responsibility that these conjectures are unfounded. Many people are interested in knowing what jobs the workers will be doing at our plants where, in accordance with the treaty, intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being taken out of production. Of course, the profile of these enterprises will not change, probably the same way as corresponding enterprises in the United States. But in place of the missiles being reduced, as has already been said, preparations are under way for the production of peaceful output.

[Announcer] For example, said Sergey Ivanovich Shuklin, at the Votkinsk machine-building works, mastery of the production of new generation machine-tools is under way. Production of equipment for the agro-industrial complex has begun. The Feya washing machine, production of which will increase to 400,000 items this year alone, is in great demand. The sector has obtained a large order for production of machine tools and equipment for

enterprises of the light and food industries. Wide preparation of production for producing consumer goods is also being conducted at the Petropavlovsk and Volgograd machine-building enterprises.

[A.N. Ankudinov, assembly worker and fitter at Votkinsk machine-building works] The question of our job placement, we who had previously worked on the assembly of missiles at the plant, has not arisen. There is simply no such question. Even now we need working hands at the plant. The working people are awaiting ratification of the treaty with great hopes, primarily on the part of the United States, since we do not doubt the consistent implementation of the peace program by the Soviet Government and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Korniyenko] I think that it will be interesting for our commission to listen to a representative, now, of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace.

[A.A. Kokoshin, deputy chairman of committee] The task of totally stopping all nuclear tests also remains urgent. Such a measure would, first of all, considerably reduce the danger of creating third generation nuclear weapons. The Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, which lasted more than 18 months, was a major contribution toward solving this problem. Under the influence of this moratorium, and under public pressure, the current U.S. Administration was compelled to begin appropriate talks. It is now exceptionally important that these talks should provide the essential radical result as soon as possible. Calculations show that for the preservation of stability in military strategic equilibrium it is essential for other states to begin reducing their nuclear arsenals approximately in proportion to the reduction of the strategic forces of the United States and the USSR, and to undertake a number of analogous qualitative alterations in their structure. We believe that there are certain grounds for these calculations. It has been stated on more than one occasion by the leaders of the PRC that this great state would join the nuclear disarmament process after 50-percent reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States. Great Britain has a broad movement for unilateral nuclear disarmament. As a result of the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, the erosion of the nuclear consensus has begun in France. In conclusion, I would like to say, comrades, that the committee of Soviet scientists fully supports the concluded treaty, and advocates its ratification. It believes that this treaty fully meets the interests of our security, the security of the USSR and its allies, and the interests of mutual security, the interests of strengthening international security in general.

[Ch. T. Aytmatov, Supreme Soviet deputy] Andrey (?Afanasiyevich), you mentioned the so-called third generation weapons, in the laser and electromagnetic field. I would like to know: At what stage are these inventions? Is it laboratory research, or have they been put into production?

[Kokoshin] On the part of scientists, both Soviet and American, and a number of West European scientists, the matter is currently being vigorously raised of stopping the possibility of creating third generation nuclear weapons by concluding a treaty for the global and total cessation of nuclear tests; these include electromagnetic impulse weapons, and X-ray nuclear-pumped lasers, systems that could destabilize the military strategic equilibrium, create additional uncertainties, and create heightened concern on both sides by developments in this field. The United States in general takes a very negative attitude toward the prospects for development, but it is still not proving possible to stop the direction of developing these weapons. Such an active position is being taken by a minority of scientists who are closely linked with the interests of creating these weapons. Of course, a radical resolution of this matter would be primarily the banning of all nuclear explosions, or at least, of explosions of a yield of more than 1 kilotonne.

[Aytmatov] We are just trying to save ourselves from what already exists, and look, what a terrible new generation of weapons.

[R.Z. Sagdeyev, deputy, director of the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences] We can expend huge efforts on [words indistinct], the limitation of [words indistinct], but if at the same time, in closed laboratories, scientists can create something new, in 10 years, 15 years, we'll once more come up against the same thing.

[Korniyenko] I would like to point out, in connection with this, that the matters raised relating to third generation nuclear weapons, are, directly, matters relating to the so-called SDI, and in this area the committee of scientists has already accomplished some work, including, as far as I know, some jointly with U.S. scientists. The matter does not exist in a void, a beginning; the point is to step up efforts in this area.

[Metropolitan Filaret] As a chairman of a public commission, of the Soviet Peace Committee, for links with religious circles advocating peace, and as hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, I consider it my duty to state at this important meeting that the believing citizens of our country welcome all concrete steps directed at removing or reducing the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war.

The ratification of the treaty for the mutual elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is to become such a step. The historical significance of this act is beyond dispute. It is convincing testimony of the deep and radical changes currently under way in Soviet-U.S. relations, and in international life in general.

[E.G. Klimov, first secretary of the Board of USSR Union of Cinematographers] Nearly every second, people are dying in the world, including children, from hunger, from poverty. Nearly two thirds of the world's

population are hungry, we know. How can we feel right, knowing this? This is the economic aspect of the problem of disarmament, which, if it were to occur on a large scale, would not, in the first place, harm our people, and I think that it would save many, many lives of unhappy people all over the globe. The question arises: What, specifically, can each of us do? Evidently, cinematographers will make pictures of this type, I would say, reproduce on the screen such apocalyptic visions of mankind, cautionary films. But it is of no less importance for us to produce, in our field, what we call destroying the stereotype of the enemy. We cinematographers are making a proposal. We believe that the treaty will be ratified, and when this occurs, and when dismantling starts, destruction of the weapons, this should be open, visible. This will also influence people, this will also inspire them with hope.

'Vremya' Shows Commission

LD292003 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 29 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast—speakers identified by screen caption]

[Text] The second session of the preparatory commission, the working body set up by the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to make a detailed study of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, took place in the Kremlin today. At today's session, the deputies heard the evaluations, judgments, and wishes of representatives of many public organizations in our country directly linked with the struggle for peace and disarmament.

[Begin video recording] [R.G. Bogdanov of the Soviet Peace Committee] The most interesting and noteworthy thing, which is directly connected with the treaty, is that for the first time, the entire movement, the entire peace movement, the entire might of our public, so to speak, has received material confirmation that this is possible, that these are not simply good wishes, that the years spent on organizing the movement and on the struggle, on colossal demonstrations—all this has turned out to be crowned with success. This was, in my view, a very important element, the fact that this is possible. I consider we made one very convincing calculation, namely that the yield of launchers and nuclear warheads being eliminated in Europe today is equal, is the equivalent to 200 world wars, 200 world wars which have already taken place in Europe and which could occur. It is not hard to imagine what this would mean for Europe, were this yield to be set in motion.

[R.G. Simonyan, member of the Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament group] A conventional war is just as dangerous for Europe as a nuclear one, at the moment. Statistics such as the following are now being cited: Damage to every nuclear power station will lead to contamination of 10,000 square kilometers, and there are 200 of them in Europe. Let's multiply this 10,000 by 200; and let's add to that the chemical stockpiles and oiltanks and so forth. Europe will, in principle, be burned up in the next war, in a conventional one just as in a nuclear war. We therefore pose as one of the issues for consideration the impermissibility of an increase in conventional weapons.

[Metropolitan Filaret] As chairman of the public commission of the Soviet Peace Committee for relations with religious circles advocating peace, and as hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, I consider it my duty in this eminent meeting to declare that the citizens of our country who are believers welcome all specific steps directed toward removing or diminishing the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. Any steps, any efforts in this direction are blessed: But first and foremost, it is necessary to place a barrier to the arms race, to stop it and to turn it back, in order to forever rid the world of being held nuclear hostage.

[E.G. Klimov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Cinematographers] We cinematographic workers submit a proposal: We believe the treaty will be ratified; when this occurs, and dismantling and destruction of the weapons starts, we propose this be done openly [glasno], visibly, visibly openly. Maybe one could even get some sort of universal television bridge, a television bridge where both the U.S. and Soviet missiles would be publicly dismantled and destroyed. This will also influence people and instill confidence in them. [end recording]

Further on Commission

LD291454 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The newly coined term "people's diplomacy" is becoming ever more widely used, acquiring the right to existence.

This has been graphically confirmed by today's meeting of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of the foreign affairs commissions of the two houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was set up on February 9 to work out recommendations and proposals connected with the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Georgiy Kornienko, member of the Soviet of the Union and first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, opening the session, said that representatives of the Soviet public who had largely contributed to establishing a favourable atmosphere for signing the INF Treaty were addressing today members of the commission.

As to the principal thing, which is the positive assessment of the treaty and the need for its ratification, there have been no differences.

Representatives of all Soviet public organizations, who took part in the session came out in favour of treaty ratification.

Everyone, however, singled out aspects that seemed most important to him.

Thus, Radomir Bogdanov, chairman of the Disarmament Commission at the Soviet Peace Committee, drew attention to the humanitarian, psychological aspect of the document.

He pointed out that public organizations had seen for the first time specific results of their efforts in favour of peace and understood that real success of the struggle for disarmament was possible.

The commission members viewed with interest the Peace Committee's proposal for using a missile-launcher platform for peace demonstrations, and the casing of a missile to be eliminated for making badges and other anti-war symbols.

The session was told by Sergey Shuklin, secretary of the Central Committee of the trade union of defence industry workers, that Soviet military plants manufacturing missiles were now switching to the production of consumer goods, including oil drilling rigs, pasteurizers, washing machines and prams.

Commission members smiled as Kornienko said that he himself used a washing machine, called Feya, manufactured by the Votkinsk machine-making plant, and was quite satisfied with its performance.

Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, speaking on religious aspects of the disarmament process, observed, "nuclear war is a great sin against God and man.

The Russian Orthodox Church, religious communities in our country and abroad, striving to save from death the living and succeeding generations, urged that everything possible should be done to avert the grave danger of nuclear war."

He described the Soviet-American treaty as a first real step towards ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

General Rair Simonyan of the public organization Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament unconditionally backed the treaty, stressing the danger posed by an uncontrolled nuclear arms race.

"The INF Treaty is an important step forward not only because it marked the start of real nuclear disarmament, but also because its implementation strengthens strategic stability, first of all by removing one of the most destabilizing weaponry systems, Pershing-2, with a short flight time and high accuracy," said Andrey Kokoshin, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defence of Peace, against the nuclear threat.

"In the event of war, these missiles would reduce to an unacceptable level the time needed to make a decision and compel people to delegate this function to machines."

It was suggested to set up a special body that would study problems connected with especially dangerous types of new-generation weapons.

The aim of the body is to erect a reliable obstacle in the way of the emergence of such weapons on earth.

Chervov Interviewed on INF Treaty

LD291455 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 29—In its latest issue the Katowice "PANORAMA" weekly, with a nationwide distribution, carries an interview with the head of the main board of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, General-Colonel Nikolay Chervov, on the dangers in the elimination of intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles and prospects for the achievement of a successive Soviet-American treaty.

General Chervov said, among other things, that in the West at present a demand for compensation is being voiced and that this signifies a great threat to the treaty. If the U.S. and the West give in to this demand a situation will arise in which there will be more planes and missiles than prior to the treaty. Decisions have already been made at the level of defence ministers and foreign affairs ministers of the NATO countries on the modernization and increasing of NATO's nuclear arsenals which the treaty does not cover. In reply, Chervov said, the Soviet Union is putting forward peace proposals. "Here I would particularly like to stress the Jaruzelski Plan. Some Western politicians say—yes, that is a good plan, it is certainly a good and useful plan, but there is no official reply," he pointed out.

"It is true that we are eliminating slightly over twice the number of intermediate and shorter range missiles. What was the reason we made such a concession. Somebody had to be first, otherwise the talks would have been stopped. We made a breakthrough and this I regard as a political victory of the Warsaw treaty. We won morally and politically before the whole world since we were the first to make the first step, with our action we confirmed our striving for the realization of the programme of the elimination of nuclear weapons," Chervov argued.

Speaking about the prospects of achieving a successive Soviet-American treaty on the reduction of strategic, offensive nuclear weapons, Nikolay Chervov said,

among other things, that in principle the positions of both sides were very similar. "It was possible to solve many basic military problems. In fact a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of offensive strategic weapons is already on the table. Differences concern the interpretation of a treaty on the elimination of anti-missile defences," he concluded.

Commander on Withdrawal of Missiles in CSSR
AU292048 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 88 p 7

[Unattributed report on an interview with Lieutenant Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy, commander of a Soviet missile unit stationed near Hranice na Morave, by CTK, at a press conference in Hranice na Morave on 25 February]

[Text] Within the framework of a press conference, Lieutenant Colonel Vyacheslav Granovskiy, commander of the Soviet missile unit, granted an interview to CTK:

[CTK] What further withdrawal steps will be taken; when will the missiles and the warheads be removed?

[Granovskiy] As is known, 39 Soviet operational-tactical missiles with a range of 500 to 1,000 kilometers and 24 mobile launchers were deployed in the CSSR in response to the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles and Pershing-2 missiles. In today's first stage we are withdrawing 19 mobile launchers. By approximately mid-March we willl complete the transport of missiles and all material to the elimination site.

[CTK] How is the safety of the transport on CSSR territory provided for?

[Granovskiy] In coordination with Czechoslovak agencies, we have taken all essential measures to guarantee the absolute safety of the transport.

[CTK] What will be done with the operational-tactical missiles and the other equipment if the Soviet-American treaty is not ratified?

[Granovskiy] For the time being, the launchers and the missiles are only being taken to the elimination sites to stay there until the moment of ratification. If the treaty is not ratified, the decision on further steps will be taken by competent agencies.

[CTK] Does the premature withdrawal of the missiles not conflict with the Soviet-American treaty?

[Granovskiy] American inspectors will have an opportunity to come to the military area near Hranice na Morave and see for themselves that the missiles are not there. Under the text of the treaty, Czechoslovak agencies are obliged to grant them visas within 24 hours and create all conditions they need to carry out their inspection activity. But only after the treaty is ratified, of course.

The press conference was also addressed by Lieutenant General Jan Krizan, commander of the Czechoslovak rocket and artillery troops. His words revealed, inter alia, that the Soviet base near Hranice na Morave was the only deployment site of shorter-range operational-tactical missiles in the CSSR. There are no other nuclear missiles, of either shorter-range or intermediate-range, in the CSSR. The Czechoslovak People's Army is not equipped with any nuclear weapons.

Continuing Role of Nonproliferation
PM291542 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Candidate of Military Sciences Major General B. Tenin "Military Observer's Notes": "Horizontal Disarmament"]

[Text] According to a UN estimate, present stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the world total at least 50,000-55,000 items of various types of munitions. If they were stacked up in a pyramid, the tip would pierce the stratosphere. The planet could not withstand a nuclear attack bringing all this into play—it would perish.

This entire arsenal of destruction is in the hands of the five nuclear powers (the United States, the USSR, Britain, France, and China). The main responsibility for preventing the destruction of mankind rests with them. There is only one way to do this: nuclear disarmament. In this case, "vertical" disarmament, removing one after another the layers of the hypothetical pile stacked up in the 40 years of domination of "nuclear thinking."

But, while progressing toward the zero mark in nuclear disarmament "vertically," it is necessary at the same time to guard against the danger of the appearance of new nuclear pyramids on the planet because of third countries whose scientific, technical, and production potential has objectively reached the level of nuclear powers. Today there are far more of them than there are nuclear powers—around 30. These "near-nuclear" countries (along with the entire world community) should also take part in "horizontal" nuclear disarmament, preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Today the task of preventing nuclear catastrophe prevails over all other tasks. This main avenue in world politics is mapped out and clearly visible in the light of the Soviet-American accords on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the subsequent steps by the USSR and the United States in terms of radical reductions of their strategic "triads," outlined in the course of the December (1987) summit meeting.

The dismantling of the monstrous machine of nuclear self-annihilation has proved to be possible and practicable in the foreseeable future: The sides will eliminate all their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in 1.5 and

3 years respectively. The vertical marker on the scale of nuclear confrontation will come down by 2,600 missiles with their nuclear charge, which is capable at least of reducing Europe to ashes.

Progressing further along the path of nuclear disarmament means consistently, without interruptions, moving this marker downward to zero, by reducing, removing from the arsenals, dismantling, and destroying nuclear weapons as an instrument of war and politics that is catastrophically dangerous for everyone living on earth: class by class, category by category, type by type. Bringing the other nuclear powers into this process, drawing up universal accords based on equality and identical security to ensure that these weapons never spring up again.

That is how it all looks from the standpoint of the new political thinking objectively represented in the program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world put forward in the 15 January 1986 Statement of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Clearly this process of "vertical" lessening of the nuclear threat through the nuclear powers' elimination of their own weapons arsenals in the form of missiles, aircraft, gun barrels and their nuclear warheads, bombs, and artillery shells can only be really put into practice when the entire world community promotes this process by strengthening the barriers to the "horizontal" proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The existing framework of the international system of nonproliferation is based on the multilateral Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons which came into force 5 March 1970 and to which 136 states are now parties (more than 30 countries remain outside this treaty, including 2 nuclear powers—France and China).

The significance of this treaty, cemented by the nuclear powers' pledge not to transfer such weapons and that of the nonnuclear states not to have them, is exceptionally great.

First, there is the political significance of the treaty: It is the offspring of the United Nations, the result of collective thought by the entire world community. It represents a balance between the interests of states which appear to be at opposite poles in nuclear terms (some have weapons, others do not).

Second, there is its prophylactic significance. It works "horizontally," that is, in the parameter in which a race is possible, but has not yet begun: Barriers are erected beforehand, so as to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to countries that do not have them. The treaty's task is not to cut off the "tip" of the already stockpiled nuclear arsenals, but to prevent their appearance where the scale of the "vertical" race is at the zero mark.

Third, this treaty is universal: On the one hand, it is a disarmament treaty with clearly prohibitive measures on the main subject of the agreement—nuclear weapons; on the other, it is constructive, with equally clearly expressed functions of encouragement in the sphere of the peaceful use of atomic energy as an alternative to its military application.

Fourth, there is the constructive nature of the treaty's links with the world's biggest international organization, under UN jurisdiction—the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The nonproliferation system is based directly on the IAEA's so-called system of guarantees, which takes the form of a package of political, legal, and technical measures, recognized worldwide and implemented by the agency in accordance with the treaty, with the aim of ensuring states' fulfillment of their pledges not to transfer atomic energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons.

In the treaty the IAEA acts not only as the main verification and inspection organ, but also as an effective instrument of broad international cooperation in the sphere of peaceful nuclear technologies and their safe development, including the prevention and notification of nuclear accidents and effective measures to prevent them and to eliminate their consequences.

It is a promising, vital treaty aimed at "horizontally" squeezing the arms race and depriving it of space, which is particularly important within the framework of the development of scientific and technical progress, when formerly underdeveloped but now developing countries are pulling themselves up to the level of the industrially developed countries and nuclear technology is becoming almost an everyday phenomenon for an ever increasing number of them.

In this situation the political aspects of the renunciation of possession of nuclear weapons take on decisive significance. From this viewpoint, the treaty offers a unique model for the conduct of any country in the conditions of the new thinking, when the nuclear powers, reducing their arsenals "vertically," express readiness to renounce their nuclear status, and the nonnuclear states to acquire that status.

This picture is in many respects idealized. But the dialectical link between the "vertical" and "horizontal" processes of nuclear disarmament cannot be broken.

Other approaches are also well-known. France, for instance, as a militarily important nuclear power, is hardening its view of the concept of a nuclear-free Europe, and consequently of its own contribution to European and world nuclear disarmament. The point is that the country's military-political leadership cannot yet conceive of the French nuclear forces falling within the orbit of the disarmament process, although on a regional European level they are a very significant factor in the existing military-strategic situation.

The nuclear disarmament situation is developing in such a way that "breakthroughs" are indeed taking shape in particular areas: Today the global elimination of American and Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, tomorrow, we hope, a one-half reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms. It is quite logical for the next prospect also to take shape—the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. In this class of nuclear arms France's "share" of the European balance ranks second in NATO (after the United States). And that being so, sooner or later France too will have to define its place and role in the creation of a secure Europe. As will Britain, whose ruling circles would have no objection to watching nuclear disarmament from the sidelines, while cherishing illusions about the "deterrent role" of their own nuclear weapons.

The international system of containing the "horizontal" proliferation of nuclear weapons could be influenced no less negatively by the appearance in the world community of so-called "near-nuclear countries" with an ambition to intimidate their neighbors with a nuclear bomb. There is no secret to such a bomb—that is an obvious fact today. And the fact that in dozens of countries with nonnuclear status the development of the nuclear power industry has reached a level enabling them to form, if necessary, a complete manufacturing cycle for fissile materials with the degree of enrichment required for weapons is also no secret.

Plutonium, including its "weapon" isotope 239, is a product of the operation of nuclear power stations. The total mass of plutonium, mainly the "energy" isotope 240, accumulated in the world by countries not possessing nuclear weapons, according to a number of UN estimates, reached approximately 100 tonnes by the second half of the eighties. A nuclear bomb with a capacity on the order of 20 kilotons requires no more than 10 kg of this type of nuclear material. Whereas 15-20 years ago the circle of "near-nuclear" countries basically included the Western countries that were industrially developed at that time, today there are around 30 potential contenders to join this circle. And the geography covers all parts of the globe: in South America—Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile; in Africa—South Africa, Nigeria; Taiwan and South Korea in the Asian and Pacific region; in the Near and Middle East—Israel, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt; India and Pakistan in Asia, and others.

The states participating in the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons have certainly made their choice. And those that do not take part? They include nearly 10 "near-nuclear" states. Among them are countries like Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan, which by no means conceal their ambition to acquire nuclear weapons. Moreover each of these countries has its own military program in the nuclear sphere. In the interests of creating and building up the potential for nuclear deterrence.

This policy threatens to circumvent the international barriers that have been placed in the possible paths by which nuclear weapons could spread through the regions of the globe. These barriers are maintained by one of the most important international treaties, whose effectiveness has been demonstrated by time. Where is the guarantee that such circumvention will become not so much impossible, as unnecessary?

An answer can be found to this question today. I think it is like this: As the nuclear potential of the USSR and the United States is eliminated and other nuclear powers become involved, the wishes of those that would like to have nuclear weapons will meet with an increasing rebuff from the international public. With mankind's transition to a nuclear-free world, additional legal systems will be created to avert any possibility of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The mainstay of such a world will be the universalization of pledges on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as the renunciation of nuclear weapon tests. The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, brought into being by the United Nations, is the best international structure for this purpose.

Gerasimov Holds Press Conference 1 March

Comments on Nagorno-Karabakh Events

LD011443 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"Developments in Armenia and Azerbaijan have aroused concern. We have unresolved problems in our life, including those in interethnic relations, but we believe that fomenting strife and mistrust among people only prevents these problems from being solved," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing here today.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was answering newsmen's questions about events in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

He said it was provided to devote one of the forthcoming plenums of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee to the nationalities question.

"The meaning of Leninist nationalities policy is for each people to be able to develop freely and meet its needs in every sphere, including public and political affairs, and its requirements for a native tongue and culture, for customs and beliefs.

"We have many multination republics, regions and even just cities in this country and for it genuine brotherhood and unity among peoples is the only possible path," Gerasimov said.

He added that there were quite a few bottlenecks and difficulties in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, which is part of Azerbaijan, and the region's leadership should take urgent measures to put the situation right.

But the main thing now, Gerasimov stressed, was not to kindle nationalist passions, but to overcome the existing situation and solve the specific economic, social, ecological and other problems rooted in previous decades.

Reagan POST Interview Noted

LD011348 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"President Ronald Reagan's interview to THE WASHINGTON POST in which the head of the American Administration negatively assessed the chances for signing a treaty on strategic offensive arms during the Moscow summit has been taken note of in the Soviet Union", a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen was told today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"It cannot be ruled out that procrastinations and even the torpedoing of the process of working out a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty is very much to the liking of certain quarters in the West", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "Clearly, the American Administration is now being subjected to strong pressure with the aim of preventing further steps in the field of limiting the arms race."

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the President's interview perhaps "reflects the influence of these quarters. But we are right to expect consistency of the American side". He recalled that at the summit in Washington the Soviet and American leaders had agreed to instruct their representatives at the talks to strive to complete the drafting of the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms within the shortest period of time, preferably in time for the next Soviet-American summit in the first half of 1988. The same aim—the intensification of efforts in Geneva—was confirmed also during the recent visit by Secretary of State Shultz to Moscow.

"The Soviet delegation at the talks on nuclear and space arms acts proceeding from the accord reached in Washington and is doing everything possible to search jointly with the American side for mutually acceptable solutions", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "But on the other hand the American delegation's behaviour gives rise to certain concern. Pronouncements like those made by the President explain why our American partners at the talks are passive, if not actually dragging their feet. These are strange tactics considering the obvious truth that the treaty is equally needed by the USSR and the United States".

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed hope that the American side will display a maximum sense of responsibility in Geneva, that despite all the objective difficulties the work on the text of the joint draft treaty on strategic offensive arms will proceed without artificial delays, in a constructive spirit.

On UN Military Observer Role

LD011335 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"The Soviet Union has recently notified the United Nations Secretariat of its consent that Soviet military observers within the U.N. in the Middle East serve along with observers from other countries without any restrictions and discrimination in all zones covered by the U.N. Truce Superversion Organisation in Palestine," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

The Soviet spokesman observed that "this step is a concrete manifestation of the Soviet Union's desire to enhance U.N. efficiency and use more broadly the institute of U.N. military advisers and the U.N. peacekeeping forces."

Marks NATO Council Session

LD011342 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"According to incoming reports, a NATO Council session opening in Brussels Wednesday at the level of the heads of state and government will discuss the issues of security following the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the future line towards our country and its allies", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

"The Soviet side holds", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on, "that the signing of the INF Treaty opens up good prospects for the beginning of a fundamentally new stage in international relations. This treaty is important in itself as a measure for disarmament, as a step in scaling down military confrontation. Simultaneously, it paves the way towards new accords: towards reducing and curbing strategic offensive armaments given the preservation of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and non-withdrawal from it during the agreed-upon time-frame, towards reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, towards other important measures for disarmament. We have also presented respective proposals both on the bilateral and multi-lateral basis."

"It is in the interests of Europe, in the interests of peace to look forward rather than to turn one's back to the future", Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "It is the moment now to test politicians' ability to display a responsible approach. The people of Europe, to whom a historic chance for a dramatic improvement of the political climate was opened, are justified in hoping for this", Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed.

Hails Balkan States Meeting

LD011440 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"The Soviet Union highly values the political potential of the Balkan countries, their active actions in favour of peace and universal security, in the interests of building a common European home," said today at a briefing Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, commenting on the results of the recent Belgrade conference of the Balkan foreign ministers.

"Judging by the coming reports, conference participants positively assess the results of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries and growing mutual understanding between the region's states," noted the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

On Closure of PLO Mission

LD011437 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—At today's briefing the Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov dwelt on the resumption of the 24nd session of the United Nations General Assembly which is urgently studying a report of the Committee on Relations With the Host Country in connection with the decision of the United States Congress on the closure of the PLO observer's mission at the United Nations in New York.

"The Soviet Union together with the overwhelming majority of United Nations member states supported the resolution of the General Assembly urging the host country to refrain from any actions capable of impeding the fulfilment of its official functions by the mission of the PLO permament observer at the United Nations", head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate said.

"For the United Nations and for all its members the question of the right of the PLO mission to stay and function at the United Nations headquarters in New york is a question of observance of norms of international law. The agreement on the location of the central agencies is a mandatory document of international law", he said further.

"We hope that the conflict of the United States with the United Nations Organisation will be resolved in accordance with this agreement and that the mission of the PLO observer at the United Nations will be able to discharge its functions in New York without any impediments", Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Denounces South Africa Ban

LD011430 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"The decision of the South African authorities to ban a number of mass democratic organisations is a blow at the prospects of a political settlement of the crisis situation in the south of Africa", a press briefing here today was told by the Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov.

"The actions of the South African authorities only add urgency to the international public's demands for increasing the isolation of the apartheid regime and applying to it all-embracing mandatory sanctions in accordance with the United Nations Charter", Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Shultz Talks, Geneva Talks, Nicaragua Reviewed

PM010901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Nikolay Prozhogin "International Review": "A Week in the World"]

[Text] At the beginning of this week, M.S. Gorbachev received U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz in the Kremlin. During their conversation they exchanged opinions on progress in implementing the accords reached during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington and the state of preparations for the forthcoming visit to the USSR by President R. Reagan in the first half of this year.

This same range of problems was the subject of discussion at the talks between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and G. Shultz. The ministers discussed the remaining unresolved issues (of which there are a considerable number) connected with the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons, nuclear tests, armed forces and conventional weapons, and chemical weapons. They also had a frank, constructive discussion on human rights issues and the entire humanitarian sphere. There followed a broad, frank exchange of opinions on regional problems. It goes without saying that progress in work to expand bilateral cooperation was also discussed.

A special place at the Moscow meeting, however, was accorded to issues connected with drawing up a treaty on strategic offensive weapons. The new ideas on specific aspects of reducing various types of strategic nuclear weapons proposed by M.S. Gorbachev during his talk with G. Shultz are expected to give dynamism to the talks on these issues and to the search for mutually acceptable solutions.

A Realistic and Feasible Task [subhead]

The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has opened the way to drawing up a treaty on strategic offensive weapons, which is now a key issue in the task of nuclear disarmament.

This question has been discussed before. What is more, an accord was reached on this issue in Reykjavik. However, formalization of this accord was prevented by the Washington administration's stubborn commitment at the time to the SDI program and its consequent reluctance to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

But the meeting in Reykjavik did leave its mark in this respect. During the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington the Soviet Union and the United States pledged to intensify their efforts to complete the process of drawing up a treaty on strategic offensive weapons conditional upon an accord to observe the ABM Treaty and stay with it for an agreed period.

This pledge was made the basis of the Soviet-American Geneva talks which continued after the summit. However, it was not very long before difficulties arose once again. The main difficulty has been that the American delegation has deviated from the accord reached in Washington. This is the impression created in any case, if one is to judge by its conduct. Let us hope that as a result of the talks held in Moscow between the Soviet and American foreign ministers, this difficulty will now be removed. Indeed, confirmation that the two sides remain committed to the Washington accords was an important result of the Moscow meeting. In other words, not only the Soviet Union but also the United States will continue to be guided by the principles of observing and staying with the ABM Treaty, as agreed by the two countries' leaders.

Of course, even now we must not underestimate the complexities of the Geneva talks. For example, in view of the Washington administration's intention to forge ahead with its implementation of the SDI program, you can predict that one such difficulty will arise over the problem of defining the specific period of time for nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

Another complex block of problems will clearly arise in connection with developing verification measures pertaining to the treaty on strategic offensive weapons. It is a well-known fact that the American side has used the problem of verification more than once in the past, especially when drawing up the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, in order to put a brake on the achievement of accords, although it is obvious that the Soviet Union is no less interested than the United States in monitoring compliance with these accords and wants to ensure that the proposed measures in this connection are as strict and reliable as possible.

The list of forthcoming difficulties could be continued. One should also not overlook the fact that the prospect of concluding a treaty on strategic offensive weapons depends on the prompt ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. In an effort to help to speed up this process, the Soviet Government recently adopted a decision to withdraw from GDR and CSSR territory, as a demonstration of goodwill, Soviet OTR-22s (SS-12s), their launch installations, and corresponding auxiliary equipment before the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles comes into force.

The public—not only the Soviet and American public but in other countries as well—is naturally asking when exactly the treaty on strategic offensive weapons is to be prepared and signed. In an official joint statement on this issue, the ministers repeated the formula adopted in

Washington in December of "the shortest possible period": "It is desirable that the treaty be signed during the next meeting between the heads of state in the first half of 1988."

It must be pointed out that during the Moscow talks, both the Soviet and American sides clearly realized that although the task facing them is difficult, it is realistic and feasible nevertheless. Obviously a great amount of work is required to resolve this task. Not only in Geneva—mainly at foreign minister level. As is well known, the meeting in Moscow was just the first in a series of planned meetings. The next is scheduled for March in Washington. If there is goodwill, it is quite possible to have a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons ready for signing and simultaneously reach an agreement to observe the ABM Treaty by the time of the U.S. President's visit to Moscow.

Originating in the Geneva summit meeting, surviving the ordeals of Reykjavik, and producing the first substantial results in Washington, Soviet-American dialogue must gather momentum as it draws closer to its next frontier in Moscow.

Not only the peoples of our two countries have an interest in improving Soviet-American relations and making them healthier, which is becoming particularly obvious in the light of the increasing interconnection and interdependence of all states in the world today. Indeed, surely problems with a direct bearing on the fate of all mankind are finally beginning to be solved in the course of Soviet-American dialogue? Essentially, this dialogue reflects the objective needs of the modern world, which required the evolution and assimilation of new political thinking. It must forge a path for itself and become established in the practice of international relations, because the only alternative is a universal catastrophe—an ecological catastrophe if not a nuclear one.

Consistency in the Struggle for Peace [subhead]

The week coming to a close has provided new evidence of the community of views and increasingly strong collaboration between the socialist community countries in the sphere of international relations. I have already mentioned one such piece of evidence—the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from GDR and CSSR territory. This step was taken on the basis of the accord reached at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee held in Berlin in May 1987 and with the consent of the GDR and CSSR Governments.

The stronger collaboration between the Warsaw Pact states in the international arena has also been demonstrated by the fact that a meeting between the fraternal allied countries' foreign ministers was held in Prague literally the day after the end of the Soviet-American talks in Moscow. Provided with detailed information by their Soviet colleague on the progress and outcome of the talks, the heads of the other delegations expressed their unanimous support for the Soviet Union's constructive, consistent policy, which has been coordinated with them, in its relations with the United States.

This cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries in international affairs is creative. Take, for example, the important joint initiative of Warsaw Pact states on the question of reducing armed forces and conventional arms on the European Continent from the Atlantic to the Urals.

There is also the joint statement on the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine, including a proposal to the members of NATO to hold consultations to compare the two alliances' military doctrines, analyze their nature, and jointly discuss the directions of their future evolution in order to remove the mutual suspicion and mistrust which have built up over the years, reach a better understanding of each other's intentions, and ensure that the military concepts and doctrines of the two military blocs and their members are based on defensive principles.

Unfortunately, at present the West has not offered a considered response to any of these initiatives.

But this fact does not detract from their significance. It merely confirms the belief expressed by A.A. Gromyko during his official friendly visit to Hungary this week: The peace-loving policy of the fraternal socialist states and their proposals designed to strengthen peace convincingly demonstrate the real nature of our community as the most consistent force in the struggle to eliminate the danger of another war and remove the threat hanging over mankind.

The Situation Around Nicaragua [subhead]

Regional problems were among the issues discussed by the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers at their meeting in Moscow. There are many such issues and each of them is complex in its own way.

We will concentrate on the situation in Central America and the efforts designed to achieve a peaceful settlement in the region within the framework of the Contadora process and the Guatemala agreements.

It was just this week that Nicaraguan President D. Ortega reminded people that at the recent San Salvador meeting of foreign ministers of countries in the region, his country offered a series of specific proposals to create an effective mechanism by which to verify the fulfillment of the Guatemala accords. Further evidence of the national leadership's efforts to achieve the earliest possible settlement of the armed conflict has been provided by the latest round of talks with the contras, at which the Nicaraguan delegation presented its own constructive proposals. However, once again they were rejected by the contras, which confirms the lack of interest in ending the

armed struggle felt by the U.S. circles which give them backing and support. Quite the reverse: Everything indicates that these circles are trying to aggravate an already explosive situation.

As before, the contras are accompanying their rejection of the proposals with demands for the "democratization" of Nicaragua, the proclamation of a general amnesty, and the abolition of the law "On Patriotic Military Service."

D. Ortega emphasized that his government will continue to consistently honor its pledges to democratize society. The lifting of the state of emergency throughout the country has been one of the most important steps in this direction. Civil rights enshrined in the constitution are now being enforced. They had to be suspended in the past because of the aggression unleashed against Nicaragua.

But this is not enough as far as the contras are concerned. Among their conditions for a cease-fire, for example, is a demand to form a provisional government, in which they hope to participate. But the present government was formed on the basis of election results. The next elections in Nicaragua are to be held in 1990. As D. Ortega has stated, his government will respect the election results even if it means handing over power to the opposition—if that is what the people want. However, it is highly doubtful that that is what the Nicaraguan people will want. This is also the fear of the contras, who clearly realize that the authority of the government, which is leading the struggle for national independence, has not been weakened by either the aggression unleashed against the country or the economic blockade imposed by the United States in 1985.

With regard to the contras' demand for the proclamation of a general amnesty, the Nicaraguan Government has repeatedly said that it is willing to announce such an amnesty after the establishment of a truce. This is also its attitude to the question of the law "On Patriotic Military Service." This law cannot be abrogated as long as terrorist actions causing death and destruction continue.

All patriotic forces consider a national reconciliation policy to be the best solution to the situation. This course has been taken by the Sandinist government, and if it has not yet produced results, the blame for this must primarily rest with outside interference in the internal affairs of this long-suffering country. This interference is hypocritically concealed behind pompous talk about the threat that this small country and its heroic people allegedly pose not only to their neighbors but also to the United States.

...The need to settle regional conflicts is an urgent problem of world politics, which is becoming particularly evident in the light of the growing interdependence of different parts of the modern world. Ignoring this is fraught with the risk of failing to see the moment when the development of events may suddenly take everyone unawares and mankind's common home will begin to crumble. Discussing this in his conversation with G. Shultz, M.S. Gorbachev proposed a joint study of regional problems. Unfortunately, at present our countries' attitudes and approaches to the settlement of various conflict situations have little in common. Meanwhile, new political thinking is needed in this task, just as it is needed in the task of solving disarmament problems.

'International Observers Roundtable'

LD281853 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Feb 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Collegium member and editor of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union Collegium member and chief foreign news editor of TASS; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union radio commentator]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. Quite a few important international events have taken place during the past week. But I would like to begin with a date: the second anniversary of the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress. Directly connected with that congress and its decisions is the deep restructuring that has now enveloped all spheres of our society's life. Established as the foundation of the restructuring of foreign policy was the concept of the new political thinking, which Comrade Gorbachev defined at the February Central Committee party plenum as a correct understanding of new realities that have been subjected to analysis by the method of materialistic dialectics.

The 27th congress gave a detailed interpretation of the philosophy of peaceful coexistence as we approach the turn of the century, and put forward the concept of a comprehensive system of peace and international security. In assessing what has been done since, we can say that the foundation created by the congress was sound. Proof of this is the progress made in the field of nuclear disarmament. Could anyone have foreseen 5 years ago, for example, that we would find common ground with the current U.S. Administration, sign with it a treaty eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons, and begin talks to reduce strategic offensive arms? Or that the foreign ministers of our two countries would be meeting once a month? One of those meetings was held last week.

[Pyadyshev] It was a very productive working meeting. To begin with, the two ministers conferred, held talks, for no less than 20 hours. They completed their first day of work, last Sunday, after midnight. Add to that the fact that there were several groups of experts working in parallel, and this really was a very productive dialogue between the two diplomatic departments. Since the

treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed last December, Soviet-U.S. relations have begun to hinge on the preparation of a new treaty, on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms—on condition, of course, that the ABM Treaty is strengthened in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

It is the various aspects of that future agreement—and the Soviet Union is acting on the premise that the new treaty could be signed during the U.S. President's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union to Moscow at the end of May or in the first half of June—that were being worked on and discussed in detail during the talks with Shultz and his team. Several sets, or aggregates, of various questions were singled out. First, there were questions dealing with the nonwithdrawal of the Soviet Union and the United States from the ABM Treaty and the accord in principle that both sides will adhere to that treaty for a certain period—9, 10, or 12 years. There is no precise agreement on that yet, but in principle, that determination exists.

The second set of questions concerns the problem of monitoring. These, of course, are exceedingly difficult questions. But one should bear in mind that in principle this range of questions has already been discussed—and I would say, solved—during the preparation of the previous treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. In principle, a solution has been found; that means that a road, a prospect, is opening for successfully resolving the questions of verification as applied to the new treaty—though I would reiterate that this is an extraordinarily difficult problem.

Long-range sea-based cruise missiles are another set of questions that has now been discussed in detail in Moscow. It should be said that on this matter the U.S. side has taken a step to meet our position halfway. The United States had been refusing altogether to put the question of sea-based cruise missiles on the agenda of the talks with the Soviet side. Now they have agreed to do so. On the other hand—and this is something the United States is interested in—there was detailed discussion on questions on intercontinental ballistic missiles, the missiles that form the basis of our strategic strength and the ones the United States is most afraid of. Finally, there is the complex of questions connected with the configuration, the structure of the strategic forces of both sides that will remain after the reduction.

In short, during Shultz' visit to Moscow there were very intensive, busy, and detailed conversations. Partial work was done and elaborated on that will presumably be completed after further work by the two delegations in Geneva, and the next meeting of the ministers will have a real and practical prospect for opening the way to a new treaty. Let me say right off that the next meeting between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and the secretary of state is scheduled to take place sometime between 19 and 29 March, literally in 3 weeks.

[Pasko] At the meeting in the Kremlin, the question of ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was touched on, and last week the public became involved in examining it. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was addressed by the leaders of the main U.S. religious communities and by some of the women's and antiwar organizations. In our country, there were public hearings in the Soviet Peace Committee. Analysis of the speeches shows a great similarity in public attitudes to the treaty in the two countries. Both in the United States and here, the overwhelming majority of people favor ratification.

[Pyadyshev] Yes, of course public opinion and popular diplomacy are enormously important in our time, and that applies among other things to the fate of the treaty that has been signed. But in the United States, the fate of the treaty will be decided in the Senate. Examination of it is now continuing in three U.S. Senate committees: the Committees on Intelligence, Armed Services, and, above all, Foreign Relations. On the face of it, the U.S. Administration and the U.S. senators are keeping their word. On the face of it, the process of ratification is now moving in a favorable direction. But I would ask you to remember one thing: In U.S. politics, anything can happen. We can never erase from our memory the situation when, in 1979, the U.S. President signed the SALT II agreement in Vienna, and a few months later that same treaty was scrapped, rejected by the U.S. Congress.

[Chukseyev] You know, Boris Dmitriyevich, apart from anything else, we must not forget that in the United States at present the election campaign is getting more and more into stride, and as we know the great majority of voters has already made its support of the treaty unambiguously clear. On the other hand, one cannot avoid describing as paradoxical the situation in Western Europe, where they are trying to use this very agreement to justify a further buildup in weapons of mass destruction. When the finishing touches were being put to the draft missile treaty, plans were being hatched in NATO offices for what they call off-setting the armaments subject to destruction under the Soviet-U.S. agreement.

The British OBSERVER newspaper recently reported details of this program of massive nuclear rearmament that the NATO strategists are working on. According to the paper, in the mid-nineties they propose to deploy in Western Europe 2,300 nuclear warheads on cruise missiles and nuclear artillery shells. This whole range of questions is being submitted for consideration in the very near future at a special session of the heads of government of NATO states on 2 and 3 March. They will be drawing up the West's global strategy on armament and disarmament problems in light of the decisions of the Washington summit meeting. President Reagan will be going to Brussels, and so will even the president and prime minister of France, which as you know is not a member of the NATO military organization.

The heightening of the militaristic tone is especially noticeable now in the European part of NATO, with the leaders of Britain and France showing the greatest zeal in pushing through the idea of nuclear modernization. Reading the statements they have been making, one cannot fail to conclude that we are dealing with a classical model of unwillingness or inability to display new political thinking. For instance, in every one of Margaret Thatcher's latest speeches, there is the insistent warning about the Soviet military threat that supposedly still exists. What explains this high level of activity?

The opinion of the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT is of interest in this connection. It writes: Thatcher is worried that the public's perception of the Soviet threat is weakening. She recently said at a confidential meeting of NATO ambassadors, and here I retain the prime minister's rhetoric, that the Russian bear was easier to deal with when it was more bearlike than at present. Incidentally, Thatcher admitted at that same meeting that the Soviet Union's desire to eliminate nuclear weapons in Western Europe poses very serious problems for NATO, which she says is having to convince the public of the need to retain a strong deterrent and keep up expenditures accordingly.

That is indeed no easy task, if you bear in mind the information revealed by an opinion poll recently carried out in Western Europe by the US Information Agency. It showed that in West Germany, 97 percent of respondents supported the INF Treaty; in France, 78 percent; in Britain, 65 percent; in Italy, 79 percent; and in Holland, 76 percent. This would seem to have been one of the main factors determining the position on this issue of such countries as the FRG and Holland, which is very different from the Anglo-French approach to the problem.

Here, the nuclear threat implicit in a continuing arms race and the accumulation of these armories must undoubtedly have been an important consideration. THE TIMES of London had this to say: In Bonn, protests against shorter-range weapons have been mounting, in part because the military strategists are talking about a limited nuclear war. It is easy to understand, the paper continues, that this may awaken in the mind of the West German chancellor the specter of a limited nuclear war when the superpowers begin fighting it out on German soil.

Well, disagreements among the NATO partners have become so acute that Western observers are now beginning to speak seriously of another NATO crisis. Therefore, in the run-up to the Brussels meeting, the supposition is being expressed that its participants will prefer to confine themselves to passing a joint declaration on the determination and unity of the alliance, as in the past, rather than undertaking any specific obligations.

[Pyadyshev] Foreign policy is a complicated business. As far as the foreign policy of the Western states is concerned, some really paradoxical things do go on at times. The kind of thing I have in mind is that the Western Europe states generally try to exert some sort of positive influence during periods when the United States is pursuing an excessively expansionist, militaristic policy. But now the opposite is happening. Since the signing of the Washington treaty, London and Paris have sounded charge, as it were, and started trying to put all sorts of pressure on the United States and on President Reagan personally to retard the United State's forward movement toward new agreements on nuclear disarmament.

I imagine that at the coming session of the NATO Council at the heads of state and government level, that pressure on the United States will continue. Actually, Reagan himself has already responded to this mood among his West European partners: Speaking recently on the U.S. Information Agency's Worldnet, he concurred with Margaret Thatcher's thesis that what Europe needs is not a nuclear-free zone but the absence of war. Behind that formula lurks the argument that the nuclear weapons left over after the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles should remain on European soil.

[Pasko] I would like to turn to a question that held a very large place at the 27th party congress and that is still attracting a great deal of attention: the question of settling the situation in Afghanistan. The recent statements by Comrade Gorbachev and President Najibullah regarding the timetable and conditions for the withdrawal of our troops from that country have once again shown the desire of both countries to establish a lasting peace in Afghanistan. Those statements have aroused the very widest response throughout the world. The leaders of Pakistan's 16 opposition political parties have called on the Government of Pakistan to sign the Geneva agreement on settling the problem and refrain from trying to undermine the accords already achieved.

But what has been the reaction of Pakistan's leadership? Having dropped its previous demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops as the key to a cessation of its own interference in Afghanistan's affairs, it has put forward new conditions: Pakistan has demanded nothing less than the replacement of the present Kabul government—a legitimate government represented at the UN, in the Nonaligned Movement, and in international bodies. It is quite obvious that Pakistan's demand is nothing other than an attempt to torpedo the process of national reconciliation and plant a bomb under the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which resume on 2 March and which are being conducted in Geneva through the mediation of Cordovez, the UN secretary general's representative.

But what is at the root of this attitude by Pakistan? The Italian magazine PANORAMA recently published a very interesting article that I think sheds light on this. It

estimates that more than 50 percent of the West's aid to the Afghan opposition is now ending up in Pakistan, that is, hundreds of millions of dollars. Needless to say, it is not ending up in everyone's pocket, but, says the magazine, is going to the mere 5 or 6 percent of the population making up the apex of society. I want to cite an observation made by that magazine: It writes that no one knows exactly where the huge sums that the Islamabad government and the CIA jointly have at their disposal finally end up. You can get some idea of this by observing the feverish construction work going on in Karachi's two most prestigious residential areas, (Defense) and (Clifton), where plots are hatched by senior officers in the Pakistan Army, or their agents; or when you see the luxurious villas that the officers and various Afghan rebel political leaders have built for themselves in the university townlet of Peshawar. In my view, the journal indicates pretty specifically who those are who have no interest in a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. As far as the people of Pakistan are concerned, they do not need this war. The resolution of the 16 Pakistani opposition parties I mentioned emphasizes that the question of setting up a provisional or permanent Afghan Government must be decided by the Afghans themselves; it must not be put forward as a precondition for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The Afghans themselves—with the exception, of course, of the leaders of the opposition elements entrenched in Pakistan—hold the same view. The coming months will undoubtedly reveal the true positions of all participants in the political settlement in this country.

[Pyadyshev] Of course, the U.S. role in the Afghan question is very important. Without beating around the bush, the war that has been going on for all these years on Afghan soil is a U.S. war. Were it not for U.S. military and financial aid, it would long since have been possible to have found an adequate settlement to the Afghan crisis.

What, then, is the U.S. position today? What, in this context, are the results of Shultz's talks in Moscow? First and foremost, it must be said that throughout all the U.S. meetings at various high levels, perhaps never has the Afghan question, just like other regional questions, been discussed in such minute and detailed fashion. The main question now for the U.S. Administration is over whether or not the United States will fulfill its promise, made by President Reagan in 1985, to end its support for the opposition forces as soon as the withdrawal of Soviet troops began.

Right-wing conservative forces in the United States itself are now subjecting the Reagan administration to sharp attacks for its 1985 promise. As for the current position of the United States and Pakistan on Afghan affairs, a paradoxical picture emerges. The Pakistanis in particular are simply begging us not to rush the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan—not to rush it until a new government is set up in Kabul because, as they are now saying in Islamabad, as soon as the Soviet soldiers leave Afghanistan, events even more serious than yesterday or the day before will start there.

So it turns out that only until recently—indeed, just now—Islamabad, Washington, and other Western capitals have been making the accusation that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan brings great difficulties to the Afghan situation; but now they are turning things around so that the Soviet troops should stay in Afghanistan until a new government is formed. The Soviet leadership has said totally clearly that as far as the formation of a government is concerned, this is a matter for the Afghans themselves. Such a government cannot be formed in Moscow, in Washington, or in Islamabad. The PDPA, the ruling party in Afghanistan, and Afghan President Najibullah should of course have a substantial say in the resolution of this question. The overall impression is that, influenced by active and constructive Soviet policy, the mood in Washington appears to be starting to change in favor of a more sober analysis of an Afghan settlement.

[Chukseyev] Another regional conflict that is now attracting the attention of the whole world is the situation in the occupied Arab territories. An uprising by Palestinians has been continuing there now for about 80 days. Speaking recently in an interview for U.S. television, Israeli Defense Minister Rabin formulated Tel Aviv's policy in this matter, saying: We will respond to force with force.

I am not aware of any losses to the Israeli occupiers there. If there are any, then it would be more a question of moral losses—that is, of the continuing undermining of Israel's reputation throughout the world. Meanwhile, figures on the victims among the peaceful Arab population are being widely published in the newspapers of the most varied countries. At present, according to PLO information, more than 120 people have been killed, including young children, and hundreds of people have been wounded. Incidentally, by the time of our broadcast, these figures are most probably out of date, since these tragic statistics are constantly rising.

The situation in the occupied territories grew particularly acute during the visit to Israel by George Shultz. A week-long general strike declared there on 24 February completely paralyzed life on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. There are reports that to ensure order for the arrival of the secretary of state, Israeli troops resorted to particularly cruel methods of suppressing Palestinian demonstrations.

It is no coincidence that last week at a White House press conference, UPI correspondent Helen Thomas asked President Reagan: Mr President, for a number of years you have spoken very eloquently on the topic of human rights in the Soviet Union and Nicaragua. I want to ask why you have never condemned the attitude toward the

Palestinians in the occupied territories, the shooting of unarmed protesters, the beating of people—some of whom subsequently died—of children, or the attempts to bury people alive.

The President replied to the effect that the United States is influencing Israel. However, what is interesting is not Reagan's reply but the actual formulation of the question. I would even call it not a question but a statement of a point of view about what is happening in Israel. It is perfectly clear that a re-evaluation of Tel Aviv's policy is now taking place not only in the United States but also in other countries around the world, and even in Israel itself. As for the Shultz mission, he brought to the Near East the U.S. plan for a settlement, which, in specialists' opinion, has very few chances of success.

[Pasko] I would like to draw your attention to one more event that took place last week: the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of six Balkan countries. This is the first time that such a meeting has been held. The subject of discussion there was opportunities for the development of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in areas where interests coincide. It must be said that recent years have been marked in the Balkans by a perceptible desire for political dialogue. This has yielded certain results, which include the formal lifting by Greece of the state of war with Albania, in which they had been since 1940; the accord between Sofia and Tirana on raising their diplomatic relations to the level of embassies; the recent talks between Greece and Turkey aimed at overcoming the tension between them; and the accord between Bulgaria and Turkey on drawing up a draft declaration on the principles of good-neighborliness.

The Belgrade meeting represents a new and, I would say, significant step in creating a friendly atmosphere in the region. The meeting did not bring agreement on everything: In view of different approaches, discussion of the issue of turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons was left for the future. Let me remind you that the participants in the meeting also included NATO member countries. But, at the same time, the ministers stated their common interest in an expansion of economic cooperation; they stressed that national minorities in the Balkan countries must be a factor of friendly relations, and not of discord; and the ministers agreed to work anew for the development of multilateral cooperation.

[Pyadyshev] The dialogue meeting of Balkan states held in Belgrade is, indeed, of very, very great importance. That region, which has a very hard, long history; that region, which has been repeatedly politically and geographically carved up dozens of times; that region, which has experienced problems and hardships that the people of other regions of Europe have not experienced—that region has tested the people in those states. Different interpretations exist among the Balkan states—they are there, and there is no escape from that. There are contentious issues between Yugoslavia and Albania, of course; there are contentious issues between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, such as the so-called Macedonian question, an issue left over from the centuries-old history of relations between those states; and there are certain features in relations between Romania and Hungary.

That is understandable and natural, for each state, including the Balkan states, is a living organism with its own history and its own interests, developing in its own way. It is important here to stress that there are no issues that cannot be solved. There are problems, but those problems can be overcome. Work along these lines is in progress, and the goal for which the Balkan states are striving is visible: namely, to alleviate as much as possible the problems left over from the historical past and to set up a truly productive dialogue so that the region, which was once called a powder-barrel and was once the source of many conflicts, may become a region of cooperation and a zone of peace.

[Pasko] The Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO has stated that the Belgrade meeting will go down in history as a manifestation of new political thinking, the philosophy of peace and security for all Balkan people. This view is also expressed in the press of other coutnries. The importance of the Belgrade meeting undoubtedly reaches beyond the confines of the Balkan region from the point of view, among others, of the affirmation of new political thinking in the world. Important positive processes taking place in international relations today are clearly visible in it.

On that note, comrades, please permit me to conclude our meeting today. All the best.

United States & Canada

Centcom Called Instrument of U.S. Neoglobalism

LD291957 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Eight years ago, on March 1, 1980, U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown signed an order for the creation of the Rapid Deployment Corps. The staff of those forces, initially situated at the U.S. Airforce Base Macdill, Florida, had the aim of combat training of the troops meant for the military operations in the Middle East.

The Permanent Joint Command, Centcom, was formed in January 1983 on the basis of the staff of the Rapid Deployment Force. Its "area of responsibility" comprises the territory of 19 countries of southwest Asia and northeast Africa with adjacent waters. The tasks of Centcom include bringing political pressure on countries of the region, backing of the pro-American regimes of the region, as well as posing threats of armed interference in any area, above all, in the Middle and Near East. One of the most important aims of Centcom with the Rapid Deployment Force subjugated to it is to pose a threat to the Soviet Union from the south.

Centcom permanent force based in the area of Bahrain consists of the flagship, 4-5 destroyers and the AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia.

Besides that, interventionist Rapid Deployment Force with a numerical strength of some 400,000 are subjugated to Centcom. The backbone of these forces are 4-5 mobile divisions of the land forces, several brigades, task-force units, etc. They have at their disposal over 700 aircraft of the tactical aviation, 28 strategic bombers, airborne command posts, carrier-borne units and other task forces.

The specific feature of the Rapid Deployment Force is that they have arsenals of heavy arms, logistics, ammunition at bases or on naval ships. This system enables the Pentagon to promptly move troops without armaments to "hot spots", equip them with armaments from arsenals and immediately bring them into combat.

The U.S. Rapid Deployment Force have the aim of playing the role of the main instrument of the United States neoglobalist policy. Their task is specifically to engage in "low-intensity" warfare, in shows of strength in regions situated at a great distance from the USA, in staging military and subversive ideological actions in answer to foreign policy events in countries whose governments do not suit the USA.

The U.S. Rapid Deployment Force have the aim of implementing the provision of the U.S. military doctrine about armed interference in internal affairs of developing countries. These forces are also an instrument of confrontation with the Soviet Union on a global scale.

Batenin on 12 February Black Sea Incident

LD291730 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—"That U.S. naval ships are sometimes involved in gathering intelligence is a well-known fact, an open secret," Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's military expert Geliy Batenin said today.

He was commenting in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent on a UPI report on the recent intrusions of U.S. warships—the cruiser Yorktown and the destroyer Caron—into Soviet territorial waters off the Crimean peninsula.

"What is curious, though, is that such an admission has been made, as the UPI reported, by U.S. intelligence sources. This prompts the conclusion that the February 12 events in the Black Sea were in some ways like the known incident involving a South Korean airliner: The U.S. naval ships were on a provocative mission as well."

On February 12, 1988, the Caron and the Yorktown violated the Soviet state border south of the Crimea, entered the 12-mile zone of Soviet territorial waters and executed dangerous maneuvering which resulted in collisions with Soviet naval ships.

"The destroyer Caron is known to be a special-purpose vessel," Batenin continued. "Earlier it performed reconnaissance missions off Nicaragua, Libya and Lebanon and participated in a provocative raid by U.S. ships off Soviet shores in the spring of 1986."

U.S. authorities, the military expert said, had made an awkward attempt to justify the provocative sally off the Crimea, with State Department spokesperson Phyllis Oakley claiming a U.S. "legitimate right" to engage in such actions and describing premeditated intrusions into Soviet territorial waters as being "in accordance" with international law.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry strongly protested to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow over the incident.

"The Soviet side cannot but regard the actions of the U.S. Navy as directed at bucking the nascent process of improvements in Soviet-American relations and heightening international tension.

"What happened on the Black Sea on February 12 has been a dissonance on the days when discussions are under way in the parliaments of the USSR and the United States on the issue of ratifying the Soviet-American INF Treaty," Batenin said.

U.S. Senate Wants Military Aid to Afghanistan

LD010830 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 1 TASS—The U.S. Senate adopted a resolution on Afghanistan, which furnishes proof of the U.S. intention to go ahead with massive interference in the affairs of that sovereign state.

On Monday, the Senate voted overwhelmingly to approve the resolution urging the administration not to cut off or reduce military aid to the Afghan anti-government formations until the limited contingent of Soviet troops and advisers is withdrawn completely from Afghanistan. The Senate resolution is not mandatory.

Reagan Addresses American Legion Conference

LD011014 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev:

President Reagan addressed here on Monday the annual conference of the reactionary organization American Legion on the eve of the NATO Council session at the summit level scheduled to open in Brussels on March 2.

Trying to set the fashion for the Brussels meeting, the U.S. President stressed the significance of "Atlantic solidarity" and assured the West European partners of the USA that "the core of our foreign policy...is our permanent partnership" with the NATO member countries.

Speaking on the administration's policy in the field of arms control, he said that Washington "will continue to push for verifiable 50 per cent reductions in the strategic arsenals of the U.S. and the USSR, and for a verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons." Yet the President's further statements were in a directly opposite spirit. Returning, as the UPI agency said, to one of the main propositions of his Presidency, Reagan reiterated that "the only effective way to negotiate with the Soviets is from a position of strength." The U.S. President also claimed that in face of what he described as a "Soviet threat" the United States "must modernize its chemical weapons." As is known, President Reagan has recently already notified the U.S. Congress on the decision to sanction the production of the binary chemical air bomb Bigeye as one of vital significance for national security. The Bigeye is one of the three types of the new generation of chemical weapons, whose production was either planned, or started in the USA recently. Such Washington's actions threaten to frustrate the talks on a ban on chemical weapons being held within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference.

President Reagan also upheld his "star wars" program. As the President put it "when talking about our efforts to secure a peaceful future nothing could be more important than our Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI." These claims are in conflict with the views of many scientists and specialists who have long explicitly declared that the SDI, if implemented, would increase many times the probability of nuclear war since it would lead to new dangerous spirals in the nuclear weapons race.

As the AP agency said, the U.S. President had unusually harshly criticised the U.S. Congress for a cut in the Pentagon's requests. "If Congress continues to unilaterally make major defense cuts that amounts to strategic concessions to the Soviets," President Reagan said. He also expressed full support by the U.S. Administration for the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and the Nicaraguan contras. The President warned that "whatever package emerges from the Congress it must include a provision for expedited procedures that would allow us to request additional military aid" to these elements.

Comment on U.S. Restricting PLO's UN Mission

LD011007 Moscow TASS in English 0847 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

Representatives of the international community demand that the U.S. Administration ensure normal conditions for the activities of the mission of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the U.N. give up the arbitrary policy and strictly abide by its committments to the United Nations Organization. Literally all the speakers in the debate at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session, which had to resume work on Monday to discuss Washington's intention to close the mission of the PLO permanent representative, condemn this White House provocation.

Expressing concern about the abnormal situation deliberately created by the U.S. authorities around the PLO mission, many delegates point out that unlawful actions against any representation accredited to the U.N. cannot but affect the United Nations Organization itself. Therefore, the attempts at preventing PLO's normal activities are objectively aimed against the United Nations Organization as a whole, complicate the conditions of its work for maintaining international peace and security. Speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement I.S.G. Mudenge, Zimbabwe's representative of the U.N., described the move planned by the USA as a "delayed action bomb" theatening the whole U.N. system.

Representatives of Arab states, the U.N. committee for the implementation of the inalianable rights of the Palestinian people, the Islamic Conference Organization and other delegations pointed out that Washington's anti-Palestinian campaign cannot be viewed separately from the fundamental problem of the plight of the Palestinian people. This campaign is being carried out against the background of the extremely dangerous events in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories, is part and parcel of the policy of treacherous separate deals being forced on the Arab countries at the expense of the vital interests of their peoples.

In the opinion of practically all the participants in the debate, the mass actions of the Palestinians in recent months, which assumed the scale of a popular uprising, the escalation of violence, to which Tel Aviv has recourse in an attempt at suppressing these actions by the Palestinians, have dispelled the myth that the Middle East conflict can be settled in disregard of a just Palestinian asettlement on the basis of implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

Now it is more obvious than ever before that a key to the settlement of the explosive situation in that area will be the convocation of an international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and of the sides concerned, including PLO—the sole legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, said A.M. Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the U.N. It is clear to everybody that the mission of the PLO permanent observer is designed to play and plays, in real fact, an important role within the work being done by the U.N. for reaching a Middle East settlement on the basis of the known resolutions of the U.N. Security Council and the General Assembly. It is indisputable that in comformity with the agreement on the U.N. Headquarters, the host country must ensure the immunity and normal conditions for the functioning of the PLO mission.

Shultz Talks With Jordanian Leadership

LD010759 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Amman March 1 TASS—The demand that U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which call for a fair settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, be implemented, underlies Jordan's position on the Middle East settlement. This stance of Jordan was laid down by Crown Prince Hasan during the talks held here Monday between the Jordanian leadership and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz who arrived in Jordan on a brief visit.

Jordan, the crown prince stressed, favours the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East involving all parties concerned, the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and also the Palestine Liberation Organisation. During the talks, there was an exchange of views on the situation that has formed in the region, PETRA NEWS AGENCY reported. Both sides expressed the wish to exert efforts to continue the peace process and the U.S.-Jordanian dialogue on ensuring a comprehensive settlement.

Upon the completion of the talks, Shultz left Jordan. Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i left Amman for London Monday evening. He will inform King Husayn, now staying in Britain, about the outcome of the talks with Shultz who visited Jordan on February 27-29. Zayd al-Rifa'i will attend a meeting between King Husayn and the U.S. secretary of state planned to take place in London.

Near East & South Asia

Ligachev Meets PDRY's Al-Bid in Moscow

LD291753 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met at the CPSU Central Committee today with Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) who has been in Moscow to receive medical treatment.

[Moscow Television Service at 1800 GMT on 29 February in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a shorter version on the Ligachev-al-Bid meeting in Moscow, which adds the following: "The participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the development of relations between the PDRY and the Yemeni Arab Republic on the basis of dialogue and peace serves the interests of both states and the strengthening of stability in the south of the Arabian Peninsula."]

As opinions were exchanged on the situation in the Middle East, it was stressed that current mass protests by Palestinian people against the regime of terror and violence established by Israel in occupied Arab lands have lent further urgency to the need to launch a collective quest without delay within the framework of a special international conference for ways of achieving an enduring and fair settlement in the Middle East, based on a reasonable balance of interests of all the sides involved in the conflict.

Note was taken also of the importance of continuing the world community's efforts to put an end to the hostilities between Iran and Iraq and settle contentious issues by political means in keeping with the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598.

The sides discussed some issues of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which have been developing on the basis of a Soviet-South Yemeni treaty of friendship and cooperation, and reaffirmed a mutual desire to continue broadening and furthering them.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Arab Press 'Sceptical' of Shultz Mideast Effort

PM291641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov dispatch: "The Visit's Real Purpose"]

[Text] Beirut, 26 Feb—U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has arrived in the Near East. It is reported that he will engage in shuttle trips, starting in Israel and visiting also Jordan, Syria, and Egypt. The forthcoming talks will focus on the so-called "new U.S. Near East initiative."

The Palestinian population of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip greeted the visit by the U.S. secretary of state to Israel with large-scale demonstrations. A general strike has been proclaimed. Mass demonstrations by the Arab population and in Palestinian refugee camps started from early morning on Thursday in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah, Janin, Hebron, Tulkarm, and other cities and population centers. The demonstrators carried signs and banners with the inscriptions: "Long Live an Independent Palestinian State!"; "Yes to International Peace Conference, No to Shultz Plans!"

The Arab press and public are skeptical of the U.S. "peace-making effort." If the goal of the U.S. initiative is to reactivate the Camp David process, Shultz will find the door closed, the Damascus newspaper AL-THAWRAH writes. The U.S. proposals will produce no results if they continue to ignore the two fundamental demands for the establishment of a just peace in the Near East, namely the liberation of territories occupied by Israel and recognition of Palestinians' rights.

The problem is, the Syrian newspaper AL-BA'TH notes, that the United States looks at its role in the region through Israeli eyes. What the newspaper describes as premature and partial solutions cannot lead to a just and lasting peace in the Near East. Patching and polishing cannot salvage the Camp David agreements.

The U.S. initiative completely rules out the creation of a Palestinian state and the PLO's official participation in the planned international conference, the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD, published in the United Arab Emirates, writes.

Arab Support Cited for UN Force in Gulf

PM291629 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Shevchenko dispatch under the "Persian Gulf" rubric: "With Extinguished Fires"]

[Excerpt] Kuwait—[passage omitted] The idea of creating international naval forces in the Persian Gulf is winning ever-increasing support in the region. The massive U.S. unilateral presence in the Gulf is only intensifying the tense situation in the region and making it more explosive. A reasonable alternative to this is the implementation of the Soviet proposal to create UN naval forces, which would indisputably help to normalize the situation. I frequently had occasion to hear such opinions expressed during my recent trip to the United Arab Emirates. Many people in Saudi Arabia and Oman adhere to this viewpoint. Approving the Soviet initiatives for the creation of UN naval forces in the Persian Gulf, Sultan Qa'bus of Oman stressed in an interview with Switzerland's LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE that hitherto there has not been such a precedent in the history of international relations.

"In fact, this would be the first attempt at international military cooperation at sea," Kuwaiti State Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-'Usaymi pointed out in a conversation with me. "The Soviet proposal demands a serious and attentive approach. In summer 1987 Kuwait proposed putting UN flags on minesweepers in the Persian Gulf. However, at the time this idea was simply not implemented. Now we are pinning definite hopes on the fact that the results of the Washington meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders will promote a positive resolution of this question.

"While endeavoring to put an end to the 'tanker war' and ensure security in the Gulf," Sa'ud al-'Usaymi stressed, "we must not forget that the war at sea is the consequence of the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has been going on for almost 8 years. Therefore it is necessary to put out as soon as possible the flame of this conflagration and not let it flare up with new vigor. The USSR and the United States could facilitate by joint efforts the speediest elimination of this seat of tension."

...Once again the radio transmits alarming reports from the Gulf. Another tanker traveling with a consignment of crude oil has been bombarded. The vessel has received a large hole on the waterline. Injured on board...

Reportage on Afghan-Pakistani Talks in Geneva

Afghan Delegation Arrives

LD010757 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 1 TASS—A delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan has arrived in Geneva to take part in the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks that starts here Wednesday. It is led by Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan. The talks started in 1982 are held with the mediation of a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general. The Afghan side believes that the statement of Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan paves the way to the settlement of the situation around that country and that there is a possibility of concluding the Geneva talks and signing the documents drawn up there.

Delegate Comments on Talks

PM011253 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy report: "Way To a Settlement"]

[Text] Geneva—Everything is ready at the Geneva Palais des Nations for the start of the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks scheduled to open 2 March.

As before, they will be conducted through the mediation of D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, in line with the pattern developed in the course of the previous rounds. At the same time, international observers in Geneva and local correspondents are stressing that in contrast to the Afghan-Pakistani talks which have been held here since 1982, this time there are all the conditions necessary to ensure their successful conclusion.

"First and foremost, the sides have agreed upon the basic provisions of the documents which are to be discussed at the talks for the purpose of signing an agreement," Mohammad Akbar, deputy head of the Afghan delegation to the Afghan-Pakistani talks and permanent representative of the Republic of Afghanistan to the UN European department in Geneva, said in conversation with your correspondent. "The decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which was announced by M.S. Gorbachev and adopted with the consent of the Afghan leadership, is of fundamental importance to the successful outcome of the talks. As you well know, the time scale for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops may be reduced, but this depends on the goodwill of our partners and a guarantee of no outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. At the start of the approaching round of talks we have all the main political factors creating the preconditions for their successful outcome, on which an end to the prolonged conflict in our land and the fulfillment of the overwhelming majority of the population's desire for reunification into one family and peace and stability in Afghanistan and on its borders depend. The main obstacle to a political settlement which has been constantly raised by our partners in the talks—the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan—has now been removed. All that remains is to bring the forthcoming talks to their logical conclusion, namely, the signing of the prepared agreements and their strict observance. We are ready to do this and hope that the Pakistani delegation will also show goodwill and take a constructive attitude at the talks. The successful outcome of the approaching round of talks, which have been in progress for 6 years, depends on this attitude. This time there is every opportunity to ensure that this round is really the last," Mohammad Akbar stressed.

Commenting on the forthcoming talks, the local press is drawing attention to the important, positive step taken by the Soviet leadership in the direction of a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. "Evidence of M.S. Gorbachev's Goodwill"; "A Good Sign"; "A Positive Step Over the Chief Obstacle"—this is how Swiss observers and commentators are describing the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The Swiss weekly VO REALITE voices the hope that the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks will be "the first breakthrough in the task of settling the chain of regional conflicts in the world." This appraisal is supported by the newspaper VINGT-QUATRE HEURES, which notes that a political solution to the Afghan problem could be a good example for normalizing the situation surrounding Cambodia and Angola and also that it could ensure a more favorable climate for the next Soviet-American summit meeting.

Envoy Condemns Pakistani Stance

LD011303 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—"The Afghan-Pakistani talks opening in Geneva tomorrow are a key to ending the war and starting a peaceful settlement of the problems around Afghanistan," said Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR Muhammadullah Subhami Safi. "Pakistan's refusal to sign the Geneva accords will mean that Pakistan does not aspire for peace in Afghanistan, but wishes a continuation of the war," he stressed, addressing a press conference here today.

Muhammadullah Subhami Safi criticised the stand of Islamabad, which demands that a coalition government be set up in Afghanistan prior to the return of the Soviet troops home from that country. "The formation of a coalition government and the holding of elections in Afghanistan are the issues to be decided by the Afghans themselves, who will resolve that question within the framework of the policy of national reconciliation and in conformity with the country's constitution. Any attempts at resolving the domestic problems artificially, through the creation of the so-called transitional government forced from the outside, will be fruitless and will not lead to establishing peace in that country," he said.

"The documents of the Geneva talks covering all aspects of political settlement are almost ready, the timetable for the return of the Soviet troops home has been set, the last obstacles have been removed and the Afghan side is prepared to sign the Geneva accords."

Speaking on the stand of the leaders of the opposition groups, who are declining direct talks with the Afghan Government, he noted that "they hope for the creation of a government with the assistance of external forces, while trying not to notice that the process of national reconciliation and forming a coalition government is successfully continuing in Afghanistan. Nevertheless the Government of Afghanistan is prepared for a compromise with the so-called "Peshawar seven". It has proposed more than 20 important posts in the state to opponents of the legitimate regime."

The ambassador expressed confidence that after the return home of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, fighting in that country would not intensify on the condition that the opposition leaders display a sense of responsibility and will not try to prevent the establishment of peace.

Pakistani Opposition Urges Accord on Afghanistan

LD010951 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Islamabad March 1 TASS—The leaders of the key opposition parties grouped in the opposition alliance-the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy-have issued a demand to the Pakistani Government that an agreement on settling the Afghan problem be signed at the regular round of the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations opening in Geneva on March 2.

At a meeting in Lahore Monday they urged Pakistan's leaders to respond positively to the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan, which, as they put it, is a major step towards solving the Afghan issue. The opposition leaders also declared for the recognition by Pakistan of the current government in Afghanistan and for expediting the process of returning Afghan refugees to the homeland.

Pakistani Tribes Protest 'Interference'

LD291105 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Kabul February 29 TASS—The anti-government actions of the Pushtun Tutikhel and Madakhel Wazir tribes have swept northern Waziristan (the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan), the BAKHTAR agency said. Protesting against the growing interference of the central Pakistani authorities into the affairs of the free tribes, the Pushtuns set on fire in Miralai populated locality the car of Islamabad's political representative in northern Waziristan. The detachments of the tribes blocked to army transport traffic the main roads linking the city of Miran Shah with other cities in that district. Among the demands of the Tutikhel and Madakhel Wazir tribes to the regime is that for an end to the hostile activities aginst the Republic of Afghanistan from the territory of northern Waziristan and the removal of obstacles in the way of the return home of Afghan refugees.

Shevardnadze Receives Departing Algerian Envoy

LD292123 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] Today Comrade Shevardnadze received Fadil, ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the USSR, in connection with his final departure home. During the conversation, satisfaction was expressed at the progressive development of Soviet-Algerian cooperation in all fields. A broad coincidence of the position of both sides was noted on the topical problems of the present time.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gromyko Delegation Visit

Assembly Speeches

PM291401 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1,5

[TASS report: "The Socialist Community is a Powerful Force in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 Feb—The Hungarian State Assembly deputies handed over the Hungarian parliament's Hall of Congresses for a meeting with A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, who is in Budapest on an official friendly visit.

The meeting was called an open session of the Hungarian State Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. There are 24 deputies on the commission, but the 450-seat hall was full, so great was the interest in the important Soviet guest's speech not only among State Assembly delegates, but also among Hungarian party activists, members of the diplomatic corps in Budapest, and the many representatives of the media in Hungary to cover the visit.

The session was attended by K. Nemeth, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Hungarian Presidential Council chairman; R. Trautmann, Hungarian Presidential Council deputy chairman; I. Sarlos, Hungarian State Assembly chairman; J. Marjai, Hungarian Council of Ministers deputy chairman; and other officials.

Matyas Szuros, Hungarian State Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission chairman, opened the session and welcomed the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman on behalf of those present.

M. Szuros Speech [subhead]

The Foreign Affairs Commission, like the other State Assembly commissions, is participating in extensive work to renew the economy and society, strengthen socialist democracy in Hungary, and widen glasnost in society in accordance with Hungarian working people's needs. At the same time, the commission intends to use its specific resources to contribute to the implementation of foreign policy goals and provide favorable external conditions for creative socialist labor. During the period since the election of the commission a step forward has been taken in elaborating the organizational terms and methods of its activity. This takes into account the increasing level of society's demands on the State Assembly as the organ of people's representation and makes use

of the experience of legislative bodies in the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. The commission sessions discuss topical international issues. For example, we listened to a report on the 27th CPSU Congress foreign policy program and on the results of the Budapest conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee. We have examined our country's activity abroad concerning information, foreign trade, and also questions concerning Hungarians living abroad. We have dealt with the foreign links of mass organizations and movements and the church and have listened to reports by authoritative Hungarian bodies on the work of the Vienna meeting of representatives of states that participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In the very near future there will be an examination of the status of our cultural ties. The Foreign Affairs Commission regularly expresses positions on important foreign policy issues. It supported the Soviet Union's 15 January 1986 program for the reduction of armaments and for disarmament. The commission stated its agreement with and support for the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington. Our deputies, representing the opinions of the voters, welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles as a success for restructuring and for the new political thinking. The commission has expressed its view on humanitarian issues.

We members of the commission, the speaker continued, like our public at large, are closely and sympathetically following the restructuring processes taking place in the Soviet Union and the consistent steps being taken in the interests of strengthening democracy and widening public glasnost.

We are convinced the consistent implementation of the declared reforms will create fine prerequisites for renewing socialist society and for developing the economy, thus contributing as well to increasing the international prestige of the socialist social system.

Your visit, esteemed Comrade Gromyko, is an important event in the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations. We highly value the fact that in the past cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union has continued to widen, trust has strengthened, and mutual understanding has grown. The MSZMP sees it as an important element in our international activity to strengthen friendship and develop cooperation between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples. The State Assembly, in adopting the program of stabilization proposed by the Council of Ministers, once again made our political intentions perfectly clear: We will continue to endeavor, by developing our relations on a balanced and mutually advantageous foundation, to contribute to the solution of the social and economic tasks facing our countries and to the improvement of their development and to elaborate new and effective means of cooperation.

A very important new feature of international political conditions is the fact that in the past 3 years the situation in the other socialist countries has also been favorable for us, which is equally essential for the implementation of the goals of our domestic and foreign policy. We regard it as an increasingly pressing task to renew and expand our bilateral and multilateral political, economic, and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries on the basis of the successful development of the process of reforms, which has begun in these countries.

Relying on our own potential and experience, our country is continuing to actively participate in elaborating and implementing the Warsaw Pact states' coordinated foreign policy course. We can state with satisfaction that in the process of disarmament today our countries have the initiators' role to play.

It is a very significant fact that we possess a jointly elaborated modern concept of today's world development trends. As a result of this wider opportunities are also being created for better and more active use of the independent national policies that arise out of the development features of each individual country.

Taking our conditions into account, Hungarian foreign policy attaches particularly great importance to the shape of Europe's present and future. We believe the Vienna meeting on questions of security and cooperation in Europe has the opportunity to adopt a substantive final document. We believe the development of political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation and the adoption of the relevant recommendations connected with national minorities would serve the interests of all European countries.

Hungary, using both its bilateral and its multilateral contacts, is trying to aid the formation of a new international atmosphere. In the spirit of the initiatives of the allied socialist countries, the MSZMP, in conjunction with the Finnish Social Democratic Party and Italian Socialist Party, made a concrete proposal in January to the states which do not possess nuclear weapons. On the basis of the favorable impact made by this initiative, we are seeking to move forward gradually and consistently and to contribute to the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, to the solution of the problem of tactical nuclear weapons, and to the intensification of the defensive character of military doctrines, M. Szuros concluded.

A.A. Gromyko then took the floor.

A.A. Gromyko Speech [subhead]

Dear comrades!

Esteemed members of the diplomatic corps invited to the session!

It was with great satisfaction that I accepted the offer to speak at a session of the Hungarian State Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission.

Of course, the main theme which, one might say, is begging to be discussed with the members of the commission, is the theme of war and peace. If one were able to ask a person in any country what interested him most of all today, the answer would undoubtedly be: Today's most important and most pressing problem is that of preserving peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

No people is indifferent to what will happen tomorrow. Will peace reign in the world or will it be engulfed in the flames of nuclear war?

There was a time when the Soviet Union and its friends were reproached for allegedly pursuing narrow aims and fueling all manner of fears in an attempt to weaken the capitalist world. What do they not ascribe to us!

This assessment of the situation looked false even in the past. By its peace-loving policy and its proposals geared to strengthening peace and eliminating the threat to mankind, the socialist community of states is convincingly demonstrating that it is the most consistent force in the struggle to eliminate the threat of a new war.

The socialist states' well-known peace doctrine and their dynamic practical policy are an invaluable contribution by our countries to the struggle for peace and for the future of the world. Changes have taken place in the international political atmosphere, as witnessed by people today.

Of course, it is not yet what it should be. Peace is still fragile because there are massive arsenals of nuclear weapons and other types of mass destruction weapons.

But there is a ray of hope. In December, during CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's Washington visit, a Soviet-U.S. treaty was signed on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. Mankind is now holding its breath waiting for the ratification of this treaty. The Soviet leadership expresses the hope that both countries—the Soviet Union and the United States—will act in this sphere aware of their enormous responsibility.

People in all countries are quite rightly stating that the signing of the treaty is of historic significance. It is important not to lose the momentum of progress in talks on disarmament issues. It is even more important to achieve new accords. This applies above all to the talks currently taking place in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States on the matter of reducing strategic offensive armaments.

The Soviet Union will do all it can to promote the success of these talks as well. But, of course, the outcome will depend on how seriously the United States approaches them.

Naturally, the Soviet Union is confident that its consistent policy during these talks will be vigorously supported by the fraternal socialist countries, including Hungary, whom we have always sensed alongside us in the struggle for the great cause of peace.

We have all noticed, no doubt, that recently, particularly in connection with the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty, various public forces in many countries have become much livelier. This can be said of all continents of the world. Weather conditions have, of course, had an adverse effect on the results of agricultural work in a number of oblasts, particularly in 1987. There exist various movements for peace, for disarmament, for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The powerful movement in the world for a nuclear-free, nonviolent world has special significance from the viewpoint of potential. Yes, it is the ideal whose attainment people are urging, irrespective of their ideology, where they live, and their social system.

The noble goal of achieving a nuclear-free, nonviolent world corresponds to the cherished aspirations of all the peoples.

The Warsaw Pact countries have clearly and unequivocally demonstrated their readiness to contribute to the elaboration of the requisite agreements on questions of conventional arms cuts.

As in the case of the Soviet-U.S. treaty which has been signed, new agreements on questions of nuclear and conventional armaments must also tackle questions of verifying the fulfillment of the agreements. Experience shows this is possible. All it needs is the will of those who make state policy; all it needs is an objective approach to this range of issues.

It is well known that there exist in the world many other problems which are complicating the international situation. They are complicating it even given the progress in the struggle for disarmament.

I am referring above all to so-called regional conflicts. Much blood has been shed in some of them; but there is no end in sight as yet.

There is continuing anxiety about the situation in the Persian Gulf region. The senseless war between Iran and Iraq continues. The UN Security Council decision is not being carried out. The Soviet leadership has honestly expounded its views to both sides. We told Iran in absolutely straight terms of our thoughts on the need to sit down at the negotiating table and try to eliminate on

a political basis the differences that led to the bloody conflict. Unfortunately, it still cannot be said that an agreed basis for peace between the two countries has been found.

Obviously, the UN Security Council will have to take a further step to eliminate the conflict.

We entirely understand the Arab states' concern in connection with this continuing bloodbath. It has already resulted in enormous casualties for both the warring countries. Moreover, one must not lose sight of the fact that the foreign naval forces introduced into the Persian Gulf area are in themselves a big danger not only to the Arab states. We have also said this in absolutely straight terms to Washington.

It is necessary to settle without delay the explosive situation in the Persian Gulf zone in accordance with the well-known UN Security Council resolution. The Soviet Union favors the withdrawal from the Persian Gulf of all warships of countries that have nothing to do with the region and with safeguarding freedom of navigation in the Gulf by UN naval forces.

We rate highly the fact that on this question the Warsaw Pact countries have a common stance which meets the interests of peace and the interests of the independence of all the states in the region where war is still raging today.

Of course, no state conducting a responsible policy should be complacent concerning t the general situation in the Near East, which has taken shape as a result of Israeli aggression against the Arab states. Indeed not! Until the question of Israel's liberation of occupied Arab territories is solved, until a fitting solution to the Palestinian problem is found, the Near East will continue to be a powder keg containing dangerous and unforeseeable surprises.

We express satisfaction in connection with the fact that the Soviet Union's proposal on convening an international conference to examine the burning problems of the Near East is encountering increasing support on the part of the Arab states and growing understanding on the part of the NATO countries. The key to the convening of the conference lies with the United States and NATO. Whether or not the conference is convened now depends on this duo.

Is it not clear that the discussion of the fundamental problems of the Near East at an international conference of interested states, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council and a representation from the PLO as a full participant, would to a large extent be in tune also with the general international atmosphere that currently exists? Let the United States and Israel turn the key and open the door to the conference. Only they must not break it at the last moment as a result of some wrong turn.

We value the fact that on this matter as well we and Hungary, and the other fraternal countries, have a common stance.

The socialist states are in solidarity with the African countries which for many years have experienced the threat from the South African hotbed of aggression. These African countries are direct victims of the criminal policy of the South African racist regime. We have every grounds for saying the socialist states have been and will continue to be on the side of the South African racists' victims.

We will continue to oppose the regime of apartheid and aggressive policy. For decades now we have extended a hand of friendship to the African countries and African peoples. Today we are also on their side in their struggle for freedom and national independence, including economic independence.

The Caribbean Sea is a long way from Europe and from us. It was demonstrated a long time ago, however, that flames have a tendency to spread over great distances. We are all deeply worried about the fate of a small state—Nicaragua—against which the imperialists have been plotting for many years now in an attempt to destroy people's power. There is crude—above all military—outside interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs.

No one, including the United States, should interfere in the internal affairs of Nicaragua or of any other state. The Soviet Union has supported and will continue to support the "Contadora process" in which the Republic of Nicaragua is itself involved. This same line is pursued by all the fraternal socialist countries.

On this question as well our policy is not based on expediency, but on principle.

In seeking a settlement in Afghanistan we, in agreement with the Afghan leadership, made a principled political decision concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces. In the interests of the successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, which are creating prerequisites for the solution of this question, the Governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan, M.S. Gorbachev's 8 February statement on Afghanistan says, have agreed to set a specific date for the start of the withdrawal of Soviet forces—15 May 1988—and to complete the withdrawal in 10 months. The date is set on the basis that the signing of the agreements on a settlement takes place no later than 15 March 1988.

The socialist countries have always stressed the importance of the Asian dimension of policy. Recent years have been a striking demonstration of their efforts to develop relations with the Asian states. You know, Hungarian comrades, about the Soviet Union's steps and its practical actions to widen relations with all Asian states.

Also well-known are the Soviet land's Vladivostok proposals on creating a security system in the Far East and in the enormous Pacific Ocean region. The USSR is fully resolved to develop relations with states in the Asian-Pacific region. This is reflected in its numerous initiatives on the situation in the aforementioned region and in the active contacts with various organizations in Asian and Pacific countries through state and public channels.

The tasks connected with this are enormous. Similar efforts are needed to solve them. But it is our profound belief that these efforts can and must be made in view of the significance of the actual problem.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have always attached great significance to the state of affairs in the vast region of the North, particularly in the Arctic region abutting on Europe. It is true that in many respects this region has its own characteristics. Among other things, the fact that when here, in Central Europe, the green grass is beginning to appear and flowers are sprouting, the land there is still covered with snow and the waters are frozen. From the viewpoint of the broad security interests not only of the Soviet Union but also of many other states, especially in Northern Europe, this region must be an object of concern for the countries adjoining it.

Our proposals on this score have been promulgated. They are known worldwide as the Soviet Union's "Murmansk initiatives" and are also contained in the "Appeal to the Parliaments and Parliamentarians of the North European States and the United States and Canada" adopted at a joint session of the USSR Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commissions.

Of course, Europe is Europe. Peace in Europe is the cherished dream of everyone, irrespective of what state in our Old World he lives in, and if there are people who have a different opinion of the significance of Europe and a European peace, then perhaps they can be regarded as museum curios.

How many times have the Warsaw Pact states submitted concrete proposals for examination by the NATO grouping aimed at strengthening peace and eliminating any obstacle to the attainment of that goal. It is a goal history itself has set for Europe. Our states' proposals have also related to disarmament, the monitoring of disarmament [kontrol nad razoruzheniyem], and a number of other matters relating to the "common European home."

It is necessary to bear in mind that history itself has commanded that this house should stand firm. After all, past experience shows what grave misfortunes lie in wait for people who neglect their responsibility for the state of affairs in Europe. We must all build our "common European home" in such a way that it does not run the risk of being destroyed.

In this connection it is necessary above all to stress the significance of the powerful system of treaties enshrining the territorial realities established as a result of World War II. This is the cornerstone of the entire edifice of European peace. There should be no thinking person who does not realize this.

The Soviet Union for its part, like the other fraternal socialist countries, is prepared to develop relations with all European states both in the political sphere and in the sphere of economic, cultural, and other links.

This applies also to a variety of contacts, both official, including parliamentary links, and through various public organizations, including youth and tourist organizations.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing work to bring Soviet legislation and administrative regulations in the humanitarian sphere in line with international obligations and norms. We urge other states to also take steps in this direction and join international pacts and conventions on human rights. The foundations for humanitarian cooperation would thereby be strengthened right across the board. After all, it is well known that not every major power is signatory to international pacts concerning human rights.

Naturally, the development of this kind of interstate cooperation is possible only if respect is shown for the sociopolitical choice made by the peoples concerned and for the laws and administrative regulations of each country, as stipulated by all effective agreements in this sphere, including the Helsinki Final Act.

Convening a humanitarian conference in Moscow, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would make it possible to conduct a broad, constructive dialogue on the entire complex of humanitarian problems, give new impetus to the all-European process, and raise it to a qualitatively new level. The attitude shown to our proposal may be regarded as a kind of touchstone to establish the true attitude to improving the situation in the humanitarian sphere.

I would like to take the opportunity to say that the Soviet Union highly values Hungary's role in the struggle for peace and international security and the support it invariably gives to Soviet peace initiatives. The Soviet leadership has no doubt that the close cooperation between our countries will continue to successfully develop in the interests of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples and contribute to strengthening international security and cooperation for the good of all mankind.

We approve of the initiative taken by the MSZMP, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and the Italian Socialist Party to organize joint actions by states which do not possess nuclear weapons in the interests of reducing the nuclear danger, reducing conventional weapons, and strengthening trust and cooperation in Europe.

The friendship and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and socialist Hungary are strengthened by the blood of the best sons of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples shed during the years of the Great October Revolution and the Hungarian Soviet Republic. I once had occasion to see one of the leaders of this republic—Bela Kun—and hear his speeches, which were strong in spirit and revolutionary in temperament and political thrust.

Soviet-Hungarian friendship grew stronger in the years of postwar restoration and the building of a new society. No forces are capable of driving a wedge in our friendship, splitting our unity, or impeding our cooperation in economic, scientific, and cultural matters.

The restructuring process in the Soviet Union has affected every sphere of society. It concerns economic and social problems, culture and education, and the very way people think. This was very strongly confirmed by the recent CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. It discussed the topical ideological issues now facing the country and the tasks corresponding to the new stage in the development of socialist society. The same must be said of the plenum decisions concerning the thorough restructuring of the country's education system from primary schools through to higher schools. This is in the state's highest interests.

We firmly intend to continue to increase our efforts in the restructuring process and the renewal of socialism. This will make it possible to give full scope to the development of productive forces and achieve the kind of heights in material production and spiritual life which will still further increase the attraction of socialist society and all its values.

We have all the preconditions for this, the most important being the powerful unity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the firm friendship which subsists between the peoples of the entire socialist community.

I would like to assure you, dear comrades, that the Soviet Union will continue to follow a course aimed at improving the effectiveness of its cooperation with Hungary and all socialist countries for the general good of our peoples and in the interests of peace throughout the world.

A.A. Gromyko's speech was greeted with applause.

M. Szuros thanked the high-ranking Soviet guest for his speech and assured him that National Assembly deputies and the Hungarian people will continue to strengthen and deepen Hungarian-Soviet friendship and work consistently to strengthen peace in the world.

In the evening A.A. Gromyko and his wife together with K. Nemeth and his wife attended a concert of the Hungarian State People's Ensemble.

The square in front of the concert hall was decorated with the two countries' state flags. The Soviet and Hungarian national anthems were played before the beginning of the concert.

Loginov News Conference

LD270916 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Budpaest February 27 TASS—An international press-conference has been held here on the occasion of the official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko.

Answering journalists' questions, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Vadim Loginov has said that the Soviet Union had always advocated withdrawal of foreign troops from and dismantling of military bases in any region of the world. But steps in this direction should be undertaken only on a mutual basis. The current withdrawal of Soviet missiles from the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has become a manifestation of the USSR's good will in advancing along the road of disarmament. This shows, he said, that the Soviet people are confident that the treaty between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will be ratified. Meanwhile the Soviet Union expects the other side to take similar steps in this direction.

Speaking of the need of accelerating progress in science and technology in socialist states, Director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Yevgeniy Primakov has said that introduction of the latest accomplishments of science and technology into production plays the basic role in accelerating socio-economic development of the fraternal countries. Cooperation between the CEMA member-countries in this area has lately started enriching with new forms. This concerns above all establishment of direct production relations between work collectives, [and] joint ventures. Special attention in the coming period should be paid to establishment of centres for collecting and processing scientific-technical information within the CMEA framework.

With the reconstruction drive being under way in the Soviet Union, much attention is being paid to raising intellectual standards of the younger generation, said First Secretary of the Board of the Union of writers of the USSR Vladimir Karpov, answering questions. Realization of the youth policy is bound to promote all-round organic development of the young people, to bring them within the reach of the wealth of socialist culture.

USSR-Hungarian Ministers Exchange Telegrams

PM291439 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Telegrams Exchanged"]

[Text] The Soviet and Hungarian foreign ministers have exchanged greetings telegrams on the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

In his telegram E.A. Shevardnadze voices confidence that the close, multifaceted collaboration between the USSR and Hungary will be given new, positive impetus and will contribute to fraternal countries continuing to unite their efforts to reveal socialism's creative potential and make progress toward a non-nuclear, nonviolent world.

In an answering telegram P. Varkonyi expresses confidence that Soviet-Hungarian relations will continue to develop successfully for the good of socialism, peace and international progress.

PZPR's Swiderski Visits, Meets With Medvedev

PM291653 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the CPSU Central Committee's Invitation"]

[Text] J. Swiderski, PZPR Central Committee member and PZPR Central Committee Cadre Policy Department chief, was on a working visit to Moscow 24-26 February at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He studied progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums on questions of work with cadres.

Meetings and conversations took place in CPSU Central Committee departments, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, Moscow's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom, and the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University.

J. Swiderski was received by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary. Polish Ambassador to the USSR W. Natorf took part in the conversation, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

West Europe

Britain's 'Equivocal' Stance on INF Pact Viewed

PM292005 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[Dispatch by PRAVDA special correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Equivocal Stance. London and the Ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles"]

[Text] London—The PRAVDA correspondents' center in London received a letter from Birmingham. "We, concerned British citizens living in the heart of England," it says, "are writing to you to express firm support for the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington on 8 December by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. The treaty must now be ratified by the U.S. Senate and USSR Supreme Soviet. We appreciate that in all likelihood forces exist in both the United States and the USSR who oppose its ratification and are trying to undermine any further progress toward nuclear disarmament. Therefore, we are urging people of goodwill to support what Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev have achieved, to contact their legislators and stress the importance of the unique opportunity that has now appeared to advance toward a safer world. The need to rid the people of the world of the shadow of existing nuclear armaments transcends national and political barriers. We must unite to ensure that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles enters into force and paves the way for major cuts in strategic armaments and ultimately, to a nuclear-free world."

The letter, copies of which were also sent to a number of leading British and U.S. papers, is signed by many well-known British people living in the Birmingham area. They include eight members of Parliament, three members of the European Parliament, scientists, and churchmen, including the archbishop of Birmingham, Mark Santer.

The message from Birmingham is not a reflection of the feelings of just one city. It could have come from any other part of Britain. People here are following very closely the process of preparation for ratifying the treaty now underway in U.S. Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is also much talk about the NATO Council session at the level of heads of state and government due to take place in Brussels this week.

As for the main topic—the question of ratification of the INF Treaty—public opinion polls show that most British people believe that the treaty will be ratified. But there is also a mood of anxiety.

It is not only a matter of there being influential opponents of the treaty in the United States. Recently, on this side of the Atlantic too, including Britain, there have been statements and actions which could at the very least hinder the ratification process. Increasingly, political observers and the ordinary "man in the street" are asking the question: What role does the British Government intend to play in the nuclear disarmament process?

Some people here believe that the NATO Council session may shed some light on this role. But most observers agree that the session will only be a "propaganda spectacle" geared to demonstrating bloc unity, putting many of the differences on ice for a while. The press notes that at the conference, Thatcher will defend plans for "compensation" and will oppose the concept of a nuclear-free Europe.

The official statements by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and members of the British Cabinet in support of the treaty and also of a 50-percent reduction in the Soviet and U.S. strategic arsenals are well known. When late last year M. Thatcher called the signing of the treaty "an excellent Christmas present," I believe she was expressing the opinion of many British people.

One is also aware of the positive part played by London during the preparation of the treaty. One must mention, for example, the British Government's constructive stance on the question of the Pershing-1A missiles stationed in the FRG.

But, at the same time, one cannot help noticing something else. On the one hand, London talks about supporting the treaty, but, on the other hand—in the same breath almost—it adds that NATO must in no circumstances abandon the "modernization" of its nuclear potential. Plans relating to Britain for the stationing of air- and sea-launched nuclear cruise missiles and increasing the number of nuclear-armed F-111 fighter-bombers deployed in the country have been publicly announced.

THE GUARDIAN newspaper has reported that the prime minister has just sanctioned Britain's development of a brand-new air-launched nuclear cruise missile to be carried by British Tornado fighter-bombers. It is intended to use French or U.S. technology in the development of the missile, which will have a range in excess of 600 km. THE GUARDIAN writes that "for the RAF the new missile symbolizes Thatcher's belief that NATO must modernize its arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons." Thus, London's decision is nothing but an attempt "to compensate" for the effect of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—which provides for the destruction of two types of nuclear missiles—by modernizing or creating new types of nuclear weapons.

In mid-February British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe visited Moscow. Even the Conservative press does not dispute the practical benefit the trip yielded. The DAILY TELEGRAPH writes in an editorial: "Howe's visit to Moscow promoted development of the improvement which began recently in Anglo-Soviet relations." All this is true. But a really active and effective dialogue presupposes not only support for improving relations but also concrete steps to fill the dialogue with real content. Here it must be admitted that Britain's position on a number of key issues—and first and foremost the question of nuclear disarmament—complicates this dialogue. London defends the strategy of "nuclear deterrence" and plans for so-called "compensation," plans basically designed to bypass the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Prime Minister M. Thatcher recently assured her audience in Brussels that Soviet policy abroad "still constitutes a serious threat" and that the USSR's aim is to "create a split between Western Europe and the United States." Therefore, it is said, Moscow is trying to deprive Western Europe of nuclear weapons. Even allowing for the "NATO coloring" of this speech, it is impossible to ignore the unequivocal call for the modernization of nuclear weapons and the prevention at all costs of the continent's liberation from nuclear systems.

It transpires that instead of ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, the NATO countries want to pile up new mountains of these weapons on the continent. How is this compatible with London's own statements on the need to build a more secure Europe? Saying that the new types of NATO nuclear weapons do not come within the terms of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in terms of their parameters is a political maneuver intended to bypass that document. Perhaps the NATO plans are not, in purely formal terms, a violation of the letter of the treaty, but they quite patently flout its spirit and undermine prospects not only for implementation of the treaty itself but also for reduction of strategic arsenals and other measures in the disarmament sphere. Can the British Government, Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock asked in the House of Commons, really be prepared to embark on the creation and siting of a new generation of nuclear missiles, when it is well aware that the USSR will be forced to respond in the same way? This is an entirely legitimate question.

In their statements on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, British officials invariably repeat that whatever further steps the USSR and the United States may take in the direction of disarmament, London does not intend to renounce its "independent" nuclear deterrent. Plans to equip British submarines with American Trident strategic missiles remain an inviolate "sacred cow." Government spokesmen and certain press organs try to create the impression that the USSR, during Howe's visit, gave its blessing not only to Britain's retaining these forces but also to their modernization. The FINANCIAL TIMES, for instance, writes: "British officials believe that the Soviet leaders have now basically acknowledged the right of Britain and France to maintain an independent nuclear deterrent, even after the proposed 50-percent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic arms."

Where, one wonders, did the British officials "dig up" this idea in the Soviet leadership's statements? There is nothing of the kind there. True, the USSR, attempting to meet the wishes of Britain and France, did take the "independent" nuclear forces of London and Paris out of the framework of talks. Britain and France are not participating in the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms reduction. But this does not mean that the question of their nuclear forces should not be put on the agenda sooner or later. That is what many British experts think, too. This is what D. Davies, defense secretary in the Labor Party "shadow" cabinet, said in the House of Commons: "If the Americans and Russians agree on a 50-percent cut in strategic weapons, the U.S. Navy will

be left with 12 submarines equipped with Trident missiles. If Britain buys the Trident missiles, the British Navy will have four submarines equipped with them. Can we really believe that the Americans, to say nothing of the Russians, will permit a situation where Britain possesses virtually one-third of the strategic potential of the American submarine fleet?"

I asked Frank Allaun, a well-known British politician, former chairman of the Labor Party National Executive and member of Parliament, to comment on this topic:

"I consider it an immoral policy for Britain to maintain its 'independent' nuclear forces," he said. We cannot defend ourselves in the event of a nuclear conflict all the same—the retaliatory strike will annihilate Britain. Yet we certainly can complicate and undermine the nuclear disarmament process. As for the NATO nuclear 'modernization,' I regard it as an attempt to mislead the public and violate the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Such plans could in general lead to the destruction of the treaty."

The British politician's view is worthy of attention. But I think it would be a mistake not to add the force of public opinion to the factors that could influence London's position. The 30th anniversary of the creation of a mass public organization is approaching—the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), at whose birth Bertrand Russell was present. Mary Brennan, member of the CND executive committee, told me that the movement is to mark its jubilee with mass marches all over the country in support of the ratification of the INF Treaty. Signatures are already being collected for a petition to Younger, leader of the British military department, demanding the renunciation of plans to create new nuclear weapons and site them in Britain. British peace fighters believe that London should finally define clearly and unequivocally its role in the nuclear disarmament process.

UK Minister Says West Plans To Stay in Gulf

LD281121 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Paris February 28 TASS—Western countries do not intend to withdraw their warships from the Persian Gulf area. This was stated at a press-conference in Kuwait by British minister of state, foreign and commonwealth affairs David Mellor.

FRANCE PRESSE cites him as saying that the presence of Western fleets there is not confined to time limits.

Ships of Western countries, he said, entered the Gulf to stay on.

David Mellor addressed the press-conference upon completion of negotiations with the Kuwaiti leadership in the course of his tour of the region. He visited Iraq before Kuwait.

Soviet-Irish Trade Union Leaders Meet in Moscow

LD291155 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—The talks between Soviet and Irish trade union leaders, opened in Moscow today, center on ways to extend further bilateral cooperation. They involve the delegation of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) led by General Secretary Donal Nevin, who arrived in the USSR on an official visit for the first time.

At the first session of the talks Vladimir Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), informed the guests of the drive for restructuring all facets of societal life that swept through the country. He emphasized that at the new stage of the restructuring, when its theoretical provisions are being transformed into concrete deeds, the role of the trade unions and their key link—primary organisations—is growing. The important task of the trade union committeees is to ensure that all enterprises of the country switch over to new management methods in 1988, which put social benefits in direct dependence on the end labour results.

In his turn, Donal Nevin spoke about the tasks of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in the socio-economic field. This trade union center's activity to defend the working people's interests.

Touching on the international situation, the trade union leaders underscored the need to form a new political thinking in the nuclear-space age. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is a vivid manifestation of this thinking, they said.

The sides assessed positively the development of Soviet-Irish trade union ties. The AACTU and the ICTU have been regularly sending their representatives to the congresses of the trade unions of the USSR and Ireland lately. The trade union organisations of Moscow and Dublin established permanent contacts. Representatives of Irish trade unions take a vigorous part in the majority of international East-West meetings sponsored by the AUCCTU.

Murakhovskiy Receives French Agriculture Envoy

LD271553 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Today Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee, received Francoise Guillaume, French Minister of Agriculture.

The results of Soviet-French cooperation in the field of the agri-industrial sector were analysed during the meeting and the main directions for broadening and deepening trade-and-economic, scientific and technical cooperation were considered.

Both sides showed mutual interest in continuing to maintain them as well as in developing new forms of bilateral cooperation, including that through the establishment of joint enterprises and production units.

The conversation was held in a businesslike atmosphere and was of constructive nature.

Taking part in them were Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, Yves Pagniez, the ambassador of France to the USSR, and representatives of the French business community.

Falin Statement on Bonn-Moscow Relations
DW291330 Saarbruecken Saarlaendischer Rundfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 27 Feb 88

["Excerpts" from statement by NOVOSTI Chief Editor Valentin Falin; date and place not given]

[Text] I think that understanding between East and West is a process in which the Federal Republic has held and will continue to hold a special place. Therefore, to reach agreement with the FRG on general efforts to create a better climate here in Europe is unavoidable. Bonn's decision to back the U.S.-Soviet efforts to conclude the INF Treaty is interesting. Without the FRG it would not have been possible, and we welcome the fact that in the final analysis, the Federal Republic has sided with those who advocate the treaty.

What is less interesting is the fact that developments in the FRG were protracted and took a lot of time, thus causing a delay in the whole process. So much time was wasted, and time is very precious today. What is also less interesting in my view is the Federal Republic's position—which is less consistent than it should be—its position on counterarmament [nachruestung] following the treaty that was signed in Washington, and on the modernization of the individual nuclear and non-nuclear weapons deployed in Europe.

What does counterarmament and modernization mean? The East and West have no other alternative but to reject military preparations, not just reduce them, so that the climate of East-West relations is not determined by military confrontation. Such inconsistency—on the one hand, something positive is done, and on the other, something negative—creates major difficulties in the political sphere and, above all, makes efforts to build confidence between countries and governments very difficult and very protracted and—I reiterate—takes too much time. Time is not only money; time is our lives.

How things continue depends on both sides, on credibility, on the success or failure of the efforts undertaken by Mr Gorbachev and the CPSU to implement internal reforms in our new revolution. What we are expecting the outside world, including the Federal Republic, to do is this: Please give us a chance to conduct our internal affairs quietly and systematically. Do not force us to make decisions where we have not found any objective alternatives when we talk about Europe. That applies in particular to central Europe.

The balance of interests today is much more important than the balance of weapons. Counterarming [nachruesten] and modernizing existing weapons would force the two sides into a new stage of the arms race. For our side it would mean spending more resources on the military race and fewer resources on peaceful perestroyka. No shot should be fired in Europe because the first shot—whether conventional or not—would mark the beginning of the end in Europe.

There are a number of technological and scientific divisions in Europe, beside the obvious psychological division. The Cocom lists constitute one of them. They are part of the cold war. If the cold war were to continue, it would hardly be possible to consider change for a better Europe. I am not sure whether the Federal Republic is taking the lead in abolishing such lists, even though the Federal Republic is probably the first to experience the disadvantages of the West's discriminative policy. I am sure that if the Federal Republic were to abolish that list—if not entirely, at least in essence—it would be among the first to profit by such a decision.

The situation in and around West Berlin today is much better than it was 15 or 20 years ago. That is attributable to the efforts made by the four powers as well as the GDR and the FRG. However, I am sure that the four-power agreement has not been fully exhausted. That agreement should be fully applied and strictly observed. Regrettably I must state that the Federal Republic's inconsistency in the course of time has occasionally led to minor or major complications. Air traffic between the FRG and GDR is a problem today that should in particular be discussed by the FRG and GDR. There are opportunities in the framework of cooperation and, while common interests are respected, many things could be achieved in that area that would not have been possible 10 or 20 years ago. That issue is of current interest and will be discussed sooner or later.

It seems to me that the present state of relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union as well as personal contacts between leading figures of the two countries are characterized by growing intensity. Since President Von Weizsaecker's visit to the Soviet Union last year, we have been creating a new climate. Mr Von Weizsaecker's official visit was followed by other visits. That will be continued. Mr Shevardnadze had very interesting and substantive talks. I do not want to

speculate on when a meeting between the federal chancellor and the general secretary will take place. I am sure it will happen. When that will be, is a matter of practical politics and coordination through diplomatic channels.

Solovyev Receives FRG's Spaeth 12 Feb

PM291515 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Meeting in the Smolnyy"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Smolnyy Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom, met with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg and deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (FRG).

The Soviet Union regards your visit as an important step on the path to establishing new relations between the two countries, Yu.F. Solovyev said, welcoming the guest. It is convinced that this will give a new fillip to stepping up cooperation, primarily in the sphere of the economy and of forming a climate of trust. As a major industrial and scientific center, Leningrad can make its contribution to strengthening these ties. In particular, the "Lenvest" joint Soviet-West German enterprise is already in operation in the city on the Neva and the possibility is being examined of opening a center of another West German firm, "Heinemann," at the base of the Ya.M. Sverdlov machine tool building association. For many years Leningraders have maintained friendly contacts with Hamburg. The experience of dialogue between the partner cities can also serve to expand business cooperation.

Yu.F. Solovyev talked about the economic potential of the city and oblast, development of priority sectors of the industry, potential of Leningrad industry, and level of scientific and technical progress.

In conditions of radical changes taking place in all areas of life, Leningraders are now increasing the pace of socioeconomic development. The large-scale revolutionary process has opened up scope for creative initiative, democratization, and glasnost. Labor collectives are fully determined to use their achievements for the good of peace and construction.

L. Spaeth assessed highly the significance of his meetings in Moscow with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders. The new page in relations between the FRG and the USSR which M.S. Gorbachev proposed opening, he stressed, must be filled with specific content. Our visit to the USSR is pursuing this goal. The prime minister stated that the Soviet-U.S. treaty is the first major agreement in history which envisages genuine disarmament, and it provides the basis for intensive scientific, economic, and cultural cooperation.

The guest advocated developing bilateral economic ties. Baden-Wuerttemberg, L. Spaeth said, is one of the most industrially developed laender of the FRG. The initiative for creating joint enterprises with Soviet organizations belongs to Baden-Wuerttemberg firms. FRG business circles are demonstrating great interest in the restructuring taking place in the USSR and are ready to assist in the success of this process. The training of managers and worker cadres, ecology, and a number of other areas can become spheres of collaboration. In these spheres Baden-Wuerttemberg and Leningrad have their own priorities. The prime minister expressed interest in the speedy solution of organizational questions connected with deliveries, marketing, and cadres of future joint enterprises.

The following took part in the conversation: A.M. Fateyev, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom; N.A. Panichev, USSR minister of the machine tool and tool building industry; A.F. Kamenev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building; L.A. Koykolaynen, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Oblispolkom; B.L. Kolokolov, RSFSR deputy foreign minister; and M.A. Yefimov, representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Leningrad.

A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR, and K. Metternich, FRG consul general in Leningrad, also took part in the conversation.

L. Spaeth visited the V.I. Lenin Memorial Museum in the Smolnyy.

Statement Issued on Danish Communist Party Visit

LD292219 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—Emphasis was made on the importance of creating a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe in the course of the conversation of Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation from the Communist Party of Denmark [DKP] led by the party's chairman Ole Sohn. This is said in a statement circulated today on the results of a week-long visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of Danish Communists.

Special attention was called to the need to reduce the level of military activity in northern Europe, strengthen peace and security there and promote cooperation in political, economic and cultural fields, which meets the vital interests of the people of the Soviet Union, Denmark and other Nordic countries.

The need was pointed out to translate into practical action the initiatives set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Murmansk on October 1, 1987, and concretized recently by the Soviet Union.

The representatives of the DKP reiterated a proposal for holding a conference of parliamentarians and representatives of the public of Baltic countries to promote the idea of a nuclear-free Baltic and develop political, economic and cultural cooperation. The island of Bornholm, considering its geographical location in the Baltic Sea, could be suitable place for such a conference. Staging the conference in Murmansk would also have a certain symbolical significance.

As international problems were discussed, note was taken of the significance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a first real step to nuclear disarmament. Stress was made on the importance of a campaign for its ratification.

The participants in the meeting noted the complete concurrence of the standpoints of the CPSU and the DKP on the problems of settling the situations in Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Southern Africa.

New Cypriot President Cables CPSU Presidium

LD262231 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Yeoryios Vasiliou has expressed gratitude to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR for the latter's congratulations to him on his election as president of the Republic of Cyprus.

In a telegram Vasiliou stressed a desire to continue strengthening friendly Cypriot-Soviet relations and further the two countries' interaction in international affairs and pointed out the Soviet Union's positive contribution to the quest for a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Swears Oath of Office

LD281505 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Nicosia February 28 TASS—President of the Republic of Cyprus Yeoryios Vasiliou, elected for the post on February 21, has been sworn in today in a ceremony held at the plenary meeting of the House of Representatives (parliament) of the country.

Yeoryios Vasiliou was elected president of Cyprus for a five-year term, in accordance with the Constitution. He is also head of government.

U.S.-Turkish Defense, Economic Accord Extended

LD011041 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Istanbul March 1 TASS—An additional letter to the Turkish-American agreement on cooperation in the field of defence and economy has entered into force, it has been officially announced in Ankara.

The document, also called "agreement on military bases," was thus automatically extended until December 18, 1990, said the newspaper HURRIYET.

In keeping with the agreement, the United States receives an opportunity to use the broad network of its military facilities on Turkish territory.

The ratification of the additional letter, signed in Washington nearly one year ago, was delayed by Ankara due to differences on a number of issues, according to press reports.

The Turkish side expressed displeasure over the reduction of American assistance, high bank interest rates on military credits and discriminatory barriers in trade and economic cooperation.

As all signs indicate, the U.S. agreed to some concessions to its NATO partner in a bid to reinforce its military present in Turkey.

The opposition parties negatively assessed the decision to ratify the letter, describing it as "erroneous."

CPSU Delegation Leaves for Malta

PM290915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by I.A. Shvets, leader of a group of consultants in the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, left Moscow for Malta on 25 February at the invitation of the Communist Party of Malta Central Committee.

Briefs

Soviet Press Review

Paris, 29 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent N. Yermakov reports that the France-USSR Society has begun publishing a weekly review of the Soviet press to meet the growing demand for information about life in the USSR. The review consists of summaries in French of the most interesting articles carried by PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TRUD, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA. [Summary] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 29 Feb 88 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama 'Reactionary Forces' Under U.S. Control

LD010954 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 1 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov reports:

An attempt of the Panamanian reactionary forces acting on the instruction and under the control of the U.S. to destabilize to the maximum the situation in Panama with a view to ousting the top comand of the National Defense Force and the new president of Panama has ended in failure. According to reports reaching here, a coalition of the right-wing organizations called the National Civil Crusade which is closely linked with the U.S. Embassy in Panama urged the population to start a general strike demanding the resignation of Brigade General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defense Force, and the changing of the country's leadership. However, only some private firms stopped work. The population did not heed the provocative appeals of the opposition forces. Municipal transport is functioning normally, shops, banks and all the state institutions are open.

On the whole, a [as received] situation was normal in the country last Monday. Actions of supporters of the right-wing opposition circles were not backed by the population. The police did not even find it necessary to interfere in provocative actions of some people. Colonel Leonidas Macias, head of the Panamanian police, said that the authorities had arrested none of the instigators of the anti-government strike. He refuted point-blank the rumours spread by the opposition to the effect that Eric Arturo Delvalle, former president of the country, had been arrested. Macias said that Delvalle was absolutely free and enjoyed all the civil rights. No instructions on his arrest have been given.

Last Thursday, when Delvalle was still president of Panama, he tried to remove General Noriega from the post of the commander-in-chief of the National Defense Force under the pressure of the U.S. and in violation of the Constitution. According to some information, at the moment Delvalle is staying at the plane [as received] of a friend of his in the capital of Panama, and not at a U.S. base in the Panama Canal zone as was reported earlier by some mass media organs.

Addressing journalists last Monday, Manuel Solis Palma, new president of Panama appointed to this post Friday by the decision of parliament, accused the U.S. of launching a campaign of lies and misinformation against Panama. He denounced Washington's threats to impose embargo on trade with that country. At the same time, he pointed out that Panama would work against possible economic and diplomatic sanctions that could be imposed by the U.S. The president of Panama refuted statements to the effect that the government headed by him was provisional by its character. He said that the activities of the present Cabinet of Ministers were fully based on the Constitution.

Cuba's Alarcon Raps 'Campaign of Misinformation'

LD011038 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 1 TASS—Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban deputy foreign minister, on Monday denounced the campaign of misinformation launched by Washington. At a meeting with a group of senators from Argentina who arrived on a visit here, he said that the U.S. Government was now putting gross pressure on Latin American countries. The purpose behind this pressure is to get what the U.S. Administration failed to achieve in the past, namely, to force Latin American governments to vote against Cuba, for the anti-Cuban U.S. draft resolution in the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.

Not only do [as received] human rights are respected in Cuba. They are developed further as ever broad guarantees for medical care, education, work and worthy life are being granted to the people, he said. It is exactly these issues rather than choosing forms of the socio-political system that should be center stage to the participants in the Geneva session.

On the situation in Panama, Alarcon said that the target of Washington's attacks on Panama is not one personality, which Brigadier-General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, appeared to be as fate has willed, but the entire National Guard's protecting Panama's sovereignty. The army that holds patriotic positions does not fit within Washington's customary patterns. Such an army cannot be manipulated, it does not meet imperialist interests and this reason the United States is out to liquidate it, Alarcon stressed.

The representative of the Cuban Government warned the Argentine parliamentarians about the serious consequences of this course by the White House to the vital interests of the people in the region. Such false and aggressive campaigns by the United States against any country of the continent weaken us and imperil our right to a worthy existence as independent nations.

Cuban Delegation in Moscow for Military Jubilee

FL221322 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] A Cuban FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] delegation has been in Moscow since yesterday to take part in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. The members of the delegation are: Division General Ulises Rosales del Toro, alternate member of the PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] Politburo, [first] vice minister of the FAR, and chief of the

General Staff; Division General Rogelio Acevedo, member of the PCC Central Committee and chief of the FAR's Central Political Directorate; and Rear Admiral Pedro Miguel Perez Betancourt, alternate member of the PCC Central Committee and chief of the Revolutionary Navy.

The Cuban delegation was received by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and other high-ranking military officers.

Fidel Castro NBC Interview Cited

PM291259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "F. Castro's Interview"]

[Text] Havana, 28 Feb—I support the Soviet peace policy, Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Republic's Councils of State and Ministers, said in an interview with NBC television. The USSR's concern for peace seems to me one of the most constructive events of recent times, he noted. I believe that this policy has dispelled myths, broken down barriers, and to a certain extent cleared the way for the activation of many important processes. I believe that the Soviet peace policy serves the welfare of all mankind.

Speaking of restructuring in the USSR, F. Castro stressed that the Soviet Union is a great country and that everything taking place in it influences Europe, the United States, the socialist community, and the developing countries.

The Cuban leader paid great attention to the situation in Central America, complicated as a result of the United States' aggressive policy. Here he stated that he supports the peace plan and the idea of a political settlement in the region elaborated by the Contadora Group.

Nicaragua's Ortega Calls for Peace Talks

LD290937 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 29 TASS—Defying the demands of the world community, the U.S. Administration insists on a military solution to the Central American problem, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua said here Sunday.

Addressing a regional seminar of public health system officials, the Nicaraguan leader said that Washington went ahead with supplying gangs of Somoza followers with weapons and ammunition, violating all standards of international law, the judgement of the U.N. International Court and the U.S. Constitution.

And this takes place at a time when all people of Central American states exert efforts to bring peace to and end bloodshed in the region. The Central American nations are looking forward to the earliest cessation of the fratricidal war, the sufferings and grief of thousands of people.

At the meetings in Guatemala and San Jose the presidents of Central American states reaffirmed their striving to continue acting in the interests of peace and security, Ortega went on. On its part, Nicaragua takes specific steps to achieve truce with mercenaries. However, the last round of the negotiations in Guatemala was thwarted and, by the way, not through the fault of the Sandinist government.

We consider it to be essential to overcome the existing disagreements and sit down at the negotiating table to discuss ways out of the situation that has formed. The Nicaraguans wish peace, they pose no threat to the United States, which was confirmed also by the United Nations International Court, the President stressed.

Ortega drew attention to the need to achieve within the shortest possible time a peaceful settlement in the region and prevent a direct armed intervention by the United States. He reaffirmed the Nicaraguan Government's intention to work together with other countries for the fulfillment of the Guatemalan accords.

Talks Set For 2-4 Mar

LD290930 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Guatemala February 29 TASS—The next round of cease-fire negotiations between representatives of the Sandinista government and counter-revolutionary forces will be held in the Guatemalan capital on March 2-4, Julio Martini, deputy foreign minister of Guatemala, has announced here on Sunday.

Both the Sandinista government and the "Nicaraguan resistance" leaders had agreed to sit down at the negotiating table at that date, he stated.

The government and the church in Guatemala are prepared to provide all conditions for holding the dialogue. Guatemala Archbishop Prospero Penados said here that the peoples of Central America were interested in the earliest cessation of hostilities in Nicaragua that lead to continued bloodshed and death of Nicaraguans.

Nicaraguan Defense Ministry Issues Statement

LD011206 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 1 TASS—Units of Nicaragua's Sandinist People's Army and security forces put out of action more than 350 Somozist men in the past month.

A communique by the Nicaraguan Defence Ministry, out here, says that government troops captured in fighting the contras large quantities of weapons and munitions, including mortars and grenade-launchers, and plastic explosives manufactured in the United States.

Army units intercepted nine crates with weapons and ammunition dropped on parachutes for the contras hiding in Nicaraguan mountains. The contras continued crimes against civilians, attacking cooperatives, setting ambushes on roads and exploding power transmission lines.

39 people were killed and 55 were wounded in their attacks. 115 Nicaraguans were kidnapped.

Along with the intensification of armed provocations by the contras, U.S. troops were expanding military presence near Nicaraguan borders. They were engaged in non-stop manoeuvres on the territory of neighbouring Honduras with a view to exerting pressure on Nicaragua, the communique said.

U.S. spy planes invaded Nicaragua's airspace on 13 occasions in the past month. 35 violations of air borders were recorded as CIA planes delivered from the Honduran side cargoes for the contras, the Nicaraguan Defence Ministry stated.

El Salvador's Handal on 'Revolutionary Struggle'

PA270039 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Statement by Shafik Jorge Handal, member of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] General Command and secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] We feel that the struggle for the people's liberation,the armed revolutionary struggle, is legitimate. The people have the right to struggle if they have to for their liberation; they have the right to carry out their struggle by any means. The Salvadoran people, who for 7 years have been waging an heroic revolutionary war against a very powerful foe, need to do this. We clearly realize that we are facing the United States, with its strategy of low-intensity warfare, which is based on the premise that others should fight in place of the U.S. Army.

The Salvadoran Army was very small when the war started. It has grown nearly five-fold with economic and military aid, military guidance, and organizational help received from the Pentagon. However, even so, they have not been able and will not be able to defeat the Salvadoran people.

At the beginning, in 1981, the U.S. Government talked about defeating the FMLN within 6 months, maximum. Instead, 7 years have gone by, and in San Salvador, a short time ago—a couple of months ago—U.S. Ambassador Edwin Corr said that at least 6 or 7 more years would be needed. Even though this was not his intention, I believe that, deep down, this was a recognition of the Salvadoran people's fighting capability and heroism. His idea that we shall be defeated, even though it may be 6 or 7 years later, becomes very weakened by this implicit recognition.

The truth of the matter is that the Salvadoran people's struggle has progressed toward new stages of development, and one by one the counterinsurgency plans drawn up by the Pentagon are getting defeated. Each moment the disparity between the forces becomes greater, drawing near the moment of victory.

Briefs

Soviet-Uruguayan Commission

Montevideo February 27 TASS—The third meeting of the inter-government Soviet-Uruguayan Commission on trade and economic cooperation was held here between February 23 and 26. The sides analysed the state of the trade exchange between the two countries and possibilities for its growth and divertisification. They also discussed draft documents on cooperation in the sphere of port servicing, air communications and in the field of industrial property. After discussing possibilities for the development of trade relations, the sides agreed on signing an agreement on mutual goods deliveries for 1988-1990. The document will be examined and signed during the coming visit by Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti to the Soviet Union. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 27 Feb 88 LD*]

Political & Social

More on Reaction to Gorbachev Appeal

Workers to Compensate

PM292047 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS reports under the general heading: "We Will Make Good the Omission, Working People Say"]

[Text] Responsibility for the entrusted task, awareness of involvement in the processes of revolutionary renewal taking place in the country—these words can express the mood of the thousands of Armenian working people who came into work on their day off and took up their place at their machine tools, machines, units, and control desks. They did this voluntarily, in accordance with the duty of worker honor, realizing that only persistent work can make good the omission and restore stability.

As M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia points out, the most important thing now is to concentrate on overcoming the situation which has taken shape and on resolving the specific economic, social, and other problems which have accumulated in both republics. The engineers, workers, enterprise leaders, and employees for whom Sunday became a working day cited this thought particularly frequently in conversations with TASS correspondents.

The entire collective of the "Armelektroapparat" Association came to work.

"Preliminary estimates show that if the maximum effort is made and all opportunities are utilized," A. Nersesyan, the association's general director, said, "then we will complete the February target at the level of the set plan."

We inquired about the fulfillment of contract deliveries. The association's leadership is optimistic. They cited this example: The enterprise, which produces diverse electrical elevator control apparatus and other complex devices, has fulfilled ahead of schedule the 2-month pledges with regard to contract deliveries of products to Azerbaijan industrial collectives. A decision has been adopted there to realize the quarterly deliveries to that fraternal republic by 10 March as well.

"We are aware of our responsibility for the complex situation in which our association finds itself, and so we ourselves are rectifying it," stamp operator G. Grigoryan said.

Workers and specialists of the "Armelektromash" and "Armkhimmash" Associations, the head enterprise of the "Zakavkazkabel" Association, the "Almaz" Plant, the experimental tobacco factory, and other enterprises did shock work toward the plan on this day, fulfilling their pledges on deliveries of output to fraternal republics.

We are all Soviet citizens. We have common victories, sorrows, and losses. We are engaged in the great business of restructuring on whose success the destiny of socialism, the motherland, and each one of us will depend. This idea from M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it has met with a great response among the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. We publish interviews obtained by TASS correspondents in these republics.

I. Bagirov, first secretary of Amasiyskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom and deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The events that have been occurring in recent days cause mental anguish. The Armenians and Armenia, which became my motherland, are immensely close to me, a son of the Azerbaijani people. I well know the greatness of the spirit of the people who live here and their lofty feelings. For I was born in Yerevan, and my whole life has been spent in this beautiful republic. I have never felt like an outcast [pasynok] here. It was here that I graduated from an Azerbaijani school and received a higher education in an educational institution which bears the name of the great Abovyan, who was spiritually related to Mirza Fatali Akhundov.

Working for many years in the international Vardenisskiy and Amasiyskiy Rayons, I was convinced every day how harmoniously Armenians and Azerbaijanis work and live. From old men I frequently heard it said that representatives of our peoples have at all times helped each other and shared their daily bread. It was they who bequeathed this friendship to us and no one has the right to raise a hand against it. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia urges us to sacredly preserve the traditions of this friendship and consolidate them by every means.

N. Khazri, Azerbaijan People's Poet and state prize winner:

"For the sake of our immense past suffering, for the sake of the victorious life we imagined, for the sake of a harmonious alliance and creation..." These words about the brotherhood of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians which, with profound respect for their history and the commonality of their destiny, were cited in M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, belong to Yegish Charents. The name of this glorious son of the Armenian people, inspired singer of the revolution and ardent internationalist, are particularly dear to me. I am proud to be a winner of the Ye. Charents international prize awarded

by the Armenian Writers' Union for services to Armenian literature and the Armenian people. I was presented with this award for my translation of the works of Sayat-Nova, Ovanes Tumanyan, Avetik Isaakyan, and other fine wordsmiths whose creation is a model not only of exalted poetry but also of internationalism.

These and other translations of mine made up an anthology of Armenian poetry which will soon be published in Baku, and this book is as dear to me as the anthology of my own poems published in Armenian in Yerevan.

A person has one mother from birth. But I had the good fortune to utter this infinitely dear word when addressing the Armenian peasant woman Aykanush-Ana. In my youth I did my military service in Armenia, where I built roads and fell gravely ill. And that good, understanding woman, calling me her son, tended me with care and kindness. She was physician, healer, and mother all at once. Such a thing remains in your heart forever!

The party has given an exceptionally correct evaluation of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. I wholeheartedly share the idea of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary that all Soviet people have a common history and common victories and have great labor, sorrows, and losses behind them. We have a single destiny, one road and one goal, and one indivisible motherland. The ancient land of Karabakh is the paternal home of both the Azerbaijani and the Armenian. We are brothers forever, and that says everything.

A. Mirzoyan, labor collective council chairman and team leader at the "Armelektromash" association:

My comrades showed a high degree of trust in me by electing me chairman of the association's labor collective council. So far I have been unable completely to justify the people's trust. What actually happened was that the events connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem took the labor collective council unawares. It turned out that we had let slip the educational question for the sake of resolving economic problems. In recent days the enterprise has been in turmoil and the fulfillment of production targets has been jeopardized because many people have left their work places to take part in the spontaneous [stikhiynyye] meetings.

Well, we will now be answerable all together for these actions by individual comrades, for after all under the new conditions the inexorable economic law operates: What you have earned is what you will have received. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal very rightly emphasizes the idea that it is important now to evaluate one's concerns not only in the context of local conditions but also with regard to the processes of revolutionary renewal under way in the country.

M. Abullayev, people's artist of the USSR:

Happy is he who has a brother. But if in addition the brother is a friend, then his happiness is twofold, the Azerbaijan folk saying goes. It is just such ties of fraternity and friendship which have linked the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples for centuries. These feelings, bequeathed to us by our ancestors, have in Soviet times acquired a new socialist content which comprises the essence of the internationalism and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. We must treasure this traditional friendship and consolidate it, as M.S. Gorbachev reminded us in his appeal. This party document, pervaded by deep concern for the development of events, is one more reminder that we cannot consign the very grave questions of the people's destiny to the rule of the elements and the emotions. The friendship of our peoples is bequeathed to us through the ages, and it must be preserved and augmented.

In Nagorno-Karabakh there are no people held in greater esteem than the village elders, of whom there are many in the region. Two long-lived friends, S. Arutyunyan from Kaladaryadi village, and B. Kuliyev from Turshsu village, have between them lived for nearly 200 years. Each has dozens of grandchildren and great-grandchildren working not only in Azerbaijan but also in many other parts of the country.

"All my life I have worked alongside Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and representatives of other nationalities," S. Arutyunyan says. "And I can now boldly enter any home—Armenian or Azerbaijani. I know I will be welcomed joyfully in each. My children are living and working in both fraternal republics. One son is in Yerevan, another in Shusha. I appeal to them to cherish what is dearest to us—the peoples' friendship."

The village of Turshsu, where 93-year-old B. Kuliyev lives, is rightly called a "mountain aerie."

"I was given shelter and warmth in this village," he says, "and soon, when my son married a local girl—an Armenian—the people who live here—Armenians—also became my relatives.

"When I meet with my friend Samsom Arutyunyan, does it matter to us which nationality each of us belongs to? At an Azerbaijani wedding he is placed at the head of the table, while at an Armenian one I am."

The working people of the Kirov Sovkhoz in Shushinskiy Rayon, on whose territory lie the villages where these elders live, are preparing to carry out spring field work in a smooth rhythm, without interruptions.

"On our international farm," Sovkhoz Director G. Sarkisyan says, "Armenians and Azerbaijanis together strive for labor successes. Our common efforts are aimed at making the Karabakh land flower, and it hurts when someone tries to prevent us doing so, when certain enterprises are put out of the usual working rhythm. For it is very difficult to make good the omission later."

Yerevan Workers Welcome Address

LD272003 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The traditions of friendship between the peoples must be cherished and reinforced in every way. This thought is stressed in interviews given by the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to television and TASS correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Nazaryan, identified by screen caption] Despite the fact that it is Saturday, all enterprises in Yerevan were working today. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal for civic maturity and restraint, and to once again return to normal life and work touched everyone's heart. People want to make up what has been lost and get into a normal work rhythm. The workers at the Gidroprivod production association also took up their tools today as one man. During the lunch break crowded meetings were held in the enterprise's shops and the participants reacted to the words of the [Gorbachev] address and the results of the extraordinary plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee with gratitude, understanding, and hope. [video shows workers in a factory]

[Lathe operator E.A. Oganesyan, identified by screen caption] The address by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has not left us indifferent. Mikhail Sergeyevich was very correct in saying that this is not the kind of issue that can be solved in the heat of passions, but in a calm and sober frame of mind. We do not want national enmity with the Azerbaijanis. We are neighbors, we have always been neighbors, and we want our neighborly feelings to remain immemorial. [end recording]

["Vremya" newsreader] In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Comrade Amanov, Hero of Socialist Labor and drilling foreman at the Ali-Bairamly drilling work directorate of the Azerbaijani SSR, said: Shirvan drillers are profoundly concerned over the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The appeal for reason and for a sober assessment of the existing situation contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia has met with the unanimous approval of our collective. Azerbaijanis and Armenians, Russians and Ukrainians, and representatives of many other nationalities work shoulder to shoulder here, and we all hold equally dear our greatest gain—the life-giving friendship between the Soviet peoples. The hour of reason and sober decisions has come. The awareness, responsibility, and prudence characteristic of Soviet people will triumph.

Comrade Mezhlumyan, a student from Yerevan University said: It was with great emotion that I heard Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address. It is full of concern for preserving our most valuable property—the friendship between the Soviet peoples. For a whole week the republic's work rhythm has been disrupted and lessons in higher educational establishments were broken off. The events which have taken place in Yerevan are a lesson for young people. They have shown that the Komsomol must radically restructure its work instead of going in for empty repetition of truisms and organizing various kinds of standard events which provide little benefit. [video shows worker speaking to correspondent in Leytnant Shmidta machine-building works, as captioned]

Suzhayev, Sergey Nersesevich. I have been working in this factory for 40 years. I am the team leader of a milling group. We here in Azerbaijan, in the city of Baku—a multinational city—live in a very friendly way with one another. We work side by side and help one another. Working together with me on equal terms are Azerbaijani, Russian, Jewish, and Armenian comrades, and there are not differences between us. I think that we have to get all this off our chests and get back to work again, to working in a friendly and calm way, and to treat each other well. I think that the friendship between the Soviet peoples should be supported by our party and government and will continue as before.

TASS Cites Public Comments

LD271950 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—An appeal of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous district (the Soviet transcaucasian region) and around it has been met with understanding in those republics.

Follow some of the comments transmitted from Baku and Yerevan by TASS correspondents:

A. Amanov, a drilling rig operator, said that the appeal for a sober assessment of the existing situation had been unanimously approved by the oilmen. "Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Russians, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities are working here shoulder to shoulder. We live and work as a single family, we share with each other our joys and concerns and are doing our best for promoting the revolutionary transformations now under way in the country. Our greatest gain, friendship among the nations and nationalities living in this country, is equally dear to us all", he said.

"Hot temper is a bad adviser in the solution of any problem. Mikhail Gorbachev put it most accurately in his appeal. A calm and wise tone of the appeal is a lesson to us all. We Soviet people have common history, common motherland, and each of us should be worthy of it", said G. Stepanyan, a teacher.

"I am an Armenian, and I was grieved to hear about the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous district. They are beyond the understanding of our labor collective which is made up of people of 18 nationalities. Relations of friendship and comradely assistance, an atmosphere of internationalism have long become a norm with us. We all firmly believe in the inviolability of unity of our fraternal nations. My family is international by its character. My grandmother was a Georgian. My sister is married to an Azerbaijanian and my brother's wife is Russian. We are a united family because we respect traditions of each of the nations and educate our children in this spirit", said R. Pogosova, secretary of the party committee of an oil refinery.

"It was very painful for me to learn about the developments in the Nagorno-Karabakh district, my birthplace", said S. Aleskerov, and Azerbaijanian composer. "In my native Shusha which has long been called the 'conservatoire of the Orient' Azerbaijanians and Armenians have always been educated in the same cultural and artistic traditions. We learned the art of fraternity and good neighbourliness since early childhood, it is in our blood. I share with all my heart the idea expressed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that genuine fraternity and the unity of nations is the way for us. No one will turn us off that path".

Armenia Calm; Riots Reported in Azerbaijan

'Rampage and Violence'

LD291352 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—A group of hooligans provoked disturbances in the city of Sumgait, Soviet Azerbaijan, on February 28.

Rampage and violence followed.

Measures have been adopted to normalize the situation in the city and safeguard discipline and public order.

An investigation has been launched.

Dolgikh, Lukyanov Tour Plant

NC291235 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Yesterday Vladimir Ivanovich Dolgikh and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, paid a visit to the aluminum plant at Kanaker [Kanakeri alumini kordzaran]. During a tour of the production departments they chatted with workers and expressed interest in labor discipline, the fulfillment of plans, material and technical supplies, and housing and social amenities for the workers. They recommended that the recently disturbed work rhythm be restored and state targets honorably fulfilled.

They sought to discover how the aluminum workers had received the appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Aluminum workers Simon Yengoyan, Vanoush Mnatsakanyan, Grant Sarkisyan, and Grigor Vartanyan gave their honest views, noting that they warmly endorse Comrade Gorbachev's appeal and believe that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh will be studied multilaterally and a just solution found. They also gave assurances that they would volunteer their services to overcome the setback suffered by the plant in the past few days.

Comrades Dolgikh and Lukyanov showed an interest in the production capacity of the plant, its range of products, and prospects for its development. They also visited the plant's catering facility and communal service establishments.

Comrades Dolgikh and Lukyanov then visited the "Gyumri" cooperative restaurant and talked with its chairman. They asked about the number of members of the cooperative, its problems in acquiring premises, fittings, and equipment, its financial situation, prices of items on its menu, and the income and wages of members of the cooperative. Comrades Dolgikh and Lukyanov advised the management of "Gyumri" to collaborate with production cooperatives to allow for the operation of additional sources of food supplies.

Comrades Dolgikh and Lukyanov toured the halls and foyers of the sports and concert complex, looked over its auxiliary buildings, and praised the work of its Armenian architects, builders, and fitters. In the afternoon they went on an excursion to Echmiadzin.

Comrades Dolgikh and Lukyanov were accompanied on their tour by Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, and Levon Saakyan, first secretary of Yerevan Gorkom.

Stepanakert Railway Processing Freight

LD291733 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, Azerbaijan February 29 TASS—Trains with food, fodder, building structures and scrap metal forwarded to enterprises and organizations in the Nagorno-Karabakh region from other parts of the country are being processed on the Stepanakert railway.

"The (freight handling) operations are proceeding at a good pace," the man in charge of the work, T. Guseinov, says. "In order to bring cargoes to consignees more quickly, personnel from other stations have come to help their Stepanakert colleagues."

"Our collective where members of several ethnic groups work shoulder to shoulder is like one family. We don't distinguish one nationality from another. And how could

it be otherwise if, for example, my wife is Russian and my daughter-in-law is Armenian and so I have, if I may say so, a complete international in my family."

The unloading operations at the Stepanakert railway terminal are continuing.

'Extremists' Demands Illegal

NC291952 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Statement by Ali Aliyev, candidate for legal sciences at the Higher Party School in Baku, to station correspondent on the "incidents" in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; date not given—recorded]

[Text] In stating my views as a jurist in connection with the incidents which have broken out in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, I say that the demands of a group of extremists that Nagorno-Karabakh should be taken out of the structure of Azerbaijan to join Armenia have no legal or historical basis. Under the USSR Constitution and the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, none of the autonomous oblasts may secede from the republic it is part of.

The question of changing the constituent status of Nagorno-Karabakh,a constituent part of Azerbaijan, can only be settled by the consent of the Azerbaijan Republic. There can be no recourse to any (?self-determination) or enforcement in this matter.

We heartily support and uphold the decision of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the appeal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia.

Students from other nationalities study at the law faculty, as well as other faculties of the state university in Baku, named after Sergey Mironovich Kirov. (Friendship?) and sincerity prevails among them. In particular, students from a number of foreign countries study in perfect harmony and carry out their work in fraternal fashion at the law faculty.

Demirchyan Statement

NC011427 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Statement by Karen Seropovich Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, in Yerevan, on Soviet Armenian Television on 29 February—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, I would first of all like to tell you that it has been 3 days now since the situation in the republic has been normalized. A normal labor pace has been restored in all enterprises and social establishments.

Unanimously endorsing the appeal of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the working people of the republic expressed their readiness to make up for what was lost, and thus worked on Saturday and Sunday.

I would now like to draw your attention to a matter that disturbs us. As you probably already know, the situation that has developed here, in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh, has aroused concern among a segment of the Azerbaijani population [who are residents in Soviet Armenia]. Certain Azerbaijani families have crossed the borders of the republic to go elswhere. This is due to various rumors that have spread through a number of rayons, as well as the lack of attention to these people's needs and to the issues that troubled them. The number of people who left the republic is, of course, not great. This fact, however, cannot but be echoed with pain in our hearts and cannot leave us indifferent. A number of these families are already returning home to their hearths, thanks to the measures being adopted. However, the events surrounding Karabakh, this migration of the people from one place to another, and the spread of various rumors could not in turn fail to have an effect on the situation in Azerbaijan. According to information in our possession, there have been clashes there. In particular, a group of hooligan elements provoked disturbances in Sumgait on 28 February. Acts of pillaging and violence have also occurred. The situation in Sumgait is now fully under control. Measures have been taken to return life to normal in the city and to ensure continued law and order. Investigative authorities are conducting an investigation. All this demands that we pay even greater attention to relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in our republic. The Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has looked into this matter and charged raykoms and gorkoms, rayon, city and rural soviet ispolkoms, trade unions and Komsomol organizations, and their leaders personally with carrying out all the necessary work in every town and rayon, in every village, enterprise, plant, and family, to pre-empt any recurrence and to take every measure so no cause for concern remains among the Azerbaijani population of the republic.

In carrying out explanatory work, it is necessary to (?squelch rumors) and to provide more detailed, truthful, and practical [opertiv] information. It is necessary to bring to severest accountability those who exhibit a careless and irresponsible attitude toward the demands of our people. The most important task is to establish an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding, and genuine fraternity between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

I want to remind you of the following moving words in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's appeal: No mother will agree to having her children threatened by national dissension instead of firm bonds of friendship, equality, mutual aid, and the truly great acquisition of socialism. The traditions of friendship between the Azerbaijani and

Armenian people, which have been built up in the years of Soviet rule, must be cherished and strenghened in all their aspects. Only such an approach corresponds to the genuine interests of all the peoples of the USSR.

The friendship of the nations is the greatest spiritual wealth of Soviet society, the foundation of our country's might, [hzoroutyoun], and the guarantee of prosperity for all our nations [azger] and peoples. It is the sacred duty of all of us to safeguard, defend it, and strengthen it through practical deeds, and to develop its rich international traditions. Nor should we forget that the people's friendship is also a practical task. It is deep mutual respect and caring for each other, as well as timely help in every minor detail, all of which make up the life and existence of every person.

The fraternity of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples comes from the depths of the centuries. It has been put to the test at the crossroads of history more than once, but nothing has proven able to spoil and shake this fraternity. I believe that in this hour of trial, there will not be a single Armenian or a single Azerbaijani who will harm or sully this fraternity; he will instead, uphold it.

We have lived side by side through the centuries and we have toiled side by side to earn our daily bread. We must henceforth continue to live and work together, to forge ahead shoulder to shoulder down the road to the new life, and forge our happiness in the solidarity of the Soviet family through our joint work.

Army Intervenes in Sumgait

AU011156 Paris AFP in English 1042 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 1 (AFP)—Soviet troops have been sent into Sumgait in Azerbaijan, the republic bordering Armenia, to restore order after people were injured in violent anti-Armenian demonstrations on Sunday, a reliable source said on Tuesday.

Two Azerbaijanis were killed in clashes with Armenians last week in Nagorno-Karabakh, a disputed region which Armenians want returned.

The source quoted reports from Sumgait as saying an unspecified number of troops and around 15 tanks had taken up positions on Monday around the industrial city on the Caspian Sea, 18 kms (11 miles) north of the Azerbaijani capital Baku.

TASS news agency reported on Monday that a group of "hooligans" had gone on the rampage in Sumgait, but it did not say whether there had been any casualties.

It said unspecified measures had been taken to "normalise the situation" and an investigation had been started.

A resident in Baku, contacted by telephone on Tuesday, confirmed reports that Azerbaijani youths had demonstrated there mid-week against Armenia's ambitions to recover Nagorno-Karabakh, but said the situation was now "calm".

Baku is a multinational city, the majority of whose residents are Azerbaijanis (mainly Shia Moslems), but also Russians and Armenians.

The first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Kaimran Bagirov appealed for calm on television on Monday night, reliable sources said.

The events in Sumgait were also mentioned on Armenian television. People living in the Armenian capital Yerevan said the Armenian party chief Karen Demirchyan had indicated that Armenians had been attacked in Sumgait, without giving details.

Hundreds of thousands of Armenians in Yerevan took to the streets last week to demand the return of Nagorno Karagakh, an autonomous region ceded to Azerbaijan in 1923 by Stalin.

Clashes were also reported from the region itself, which has a majority Armenian population. Moscow admitted at the weekend that two Azerbaijanis had been killed and 16 to 18 Armenians injured in the fighting, although militant Armenians contacted in Yerevan said there were rumours that the number of injured was much higher.

Besides the ethnic difference, Azerbaijanis are traditionally Moslems, while Armenians are Christians.

Friendship, Civic Vigilance Urged

NC011256 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 1 Mar 88

[From the review of the 1 March KOMMUNIST]

[Text] "To Strengthen The Bonds of Friendship" is the subject of today's KOMMUNIST editorial. It says in part: History is complicated and multifaceted. Both the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis have had to suffer through many severe ordeals, and there have been not a few instances when their centuries-old friendship has had to endure a test of its solidity. Always, during the most difficult items, their guiding light has been [words indistinct] sober, wise, and caring for the future fate of the peoples. We believe in the justice of our system and the wisdom of our party, stresses the editorial. We must today display the civic vigilance and restraint that is required of us and do everything possible in order that reason and virtue triumph.

Under the general headline "Our Strength Lies in The Fraternity of Peoples," KOMMUNIST carries letters from working people. Their common mood is expressed

in a letter from Dr Karapetyan: Sensible is he who first breaks off an argument, said [name indistinct]; truth does not need fists because it will win in the end.

Estonia's Ryutel on Situation in Republic

LD261742 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] President Arnold Ryuytel of the Soviet Republic of Estonia has spoken in an interview with a Radio Moscow special correspondent. President Ryuytel had this to say about the problems facing his republic:

[Begin Ryuytel recording in Estonian with correspondent's superimposed English summary] President Arnold Ryuytel said more democracy and openness were gaining momentum in his republic. The people, he said, were helping get action on key economic and social problems. He described this as a major gain of society. In the same time, some people were voicing discontent with some of the problems that have piled up since the times of stagnation. But to my mind, said President Ryuytel, a great deal in the democratic process depends on who (?raises) these problems how they do it, and what's especially important, what for?

Last Wednesday a group of extremists came up with demands in the Estonian capital, Tallinn, that clashed with the principles of our socialist society and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Estonian people. They did so following instigatory appeals that came from Western radio stations in connection with the 70th anniversary of bourgeois Estonia.

At the same time, a meeting of protest against the attempts of Western interference in Estonian internal affairs brought together thousands of people in Tallinn: factory workers, office clerks, college students, and people in the professions. They definitely outnumbered those who acted from anti-Soviet and extremist positions. Everybody had the opportunity to speak out. Estonia's history and present were discussed in various halls. Tallinn's largest concert hall absorbed 1,500 people. Everybody was welcome to attend. Each was welcome to take the floor. The problems no matter (?how) burning were discussed in a quiet atmosphere. Opinions differ, of course, (?while) we can't see anything bad about pluralism.

Next, President Ryuytel was asked how he saw the place Estonia holds in the multinational Soviet Union. For the present generation of Soviet Estonia, said President Arnold Ryuytel, it has become customary to want to mix with all other nationalities in this country, to come to know better their multiform culture and national peculiarities. Our unity and our community of interest tells on the development of Estonia's economy, social sphere, and culture. Incidently, under Soviet Government Estonia's industrial production has grown by 58 times. Here is just one fact: The Baltic region requires more than 400 branches of the national economy for a steady economic growth. There are only 150 in Estonia. It brings all the rest from the neighboring Soviet republics in the main.

Take any aspect of life in Estonia, said President Ryuytel, and you will see everywhere the results of the pooling of efforts by the various nationalities in the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Gromyko Meets Top Lithuanian Party Officials

PM010929 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 6 Feb 88 p 3

[ELTA report: "A.A. Gromyko's Conversation with Members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] Vilnius, 5 Feb—A.A. Gromyko met members and candidate members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau today.

In his opening speech, R.I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, expressed gratitude for the advice and recommendations expressed by A.A. Gromyko during his visit to the Lithuanian SSR and in his speech at the conference of senior officials of soviet organs attended by members of the republican party-economic aktiv.

During the conversation, A.A. Gromyko stressed that no other course but the course of restructuring is open to the Soviet people today. There is no other course and there can be no other course. People must be confident that all the plans—substantiated and well calculated—will be fulfilled.

Emphasis was placed on the role of soviets and their broad rights, which are still not fully utilized. It is incumbent upon soviets to be bolder and livelier and show more responsibility in making use of their powers in their work. All this must be done for the sake of ensuring that the indicators of our successes are the highest possible.

A.A. Gromyko expressed confidence that in many of the fields of the social sphere Soviet Lithuania can become one of the first among our country's several republics.

Zaykov Attends Urban Development Conference

PM010925 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "Building the Future"]

[Excerpts] Questions concerning the comprehensive reconstruction and development of Moscow's central districts were discussed at a regular session of the Urban Development Council attended by architects, artists,

designers, economists, specialists from the city's economic sector, leaders of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and representatives of the capital's public. This task is of exceptionally great political, economic, and social importance. [passage omitted]

The session was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Zaykov Visits Moscow Timepiece Plant

PM291725 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "Questing Is the Key to Success"]

[Excerpts] "Flight" is the name given to a popular wristwatch produced by the S.M. Kirov First Moscow Timepiece Plant. And it is flying, scientific and technical creativity that typifies the well organized labor of the plant's collective. Its partners in this country and abroad hold the accuracy and reliability of the enterprise's products in high esteem. Every year around 5 million clocks and watches are produced here, and 4 million of them find customers outside the Soviet Union. The plant was one of the first in the country to make quartz watches; it is now bringing in new models that are equal to the best in the world.

The paths of further intensifying production, switching instrument-making enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing, and improving the working, living, and leisure conditions of the sector's collectives were discussed 9 February during a visit to the plant by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom. [passage omitted]

The plant attaches great importance to the development of the social sphere: the easing of working conditions and the construction of housing and children's institutions. The Kirov workers have made a valuable initiative: By the end of the present 5-year plan it is to provide everyone on the waiting list with an apartment.

However, not all difficulties have yet been overcome. The appearance of clocks and watches lags behind modern demands and the poorly developed construction base hampers plant modernization and improvement of the collective's social and consumer conditions. The construction of a palace of culture for the plant and the organization of a subsidiary farm in the Moscow area are questions being resolved with difficulty.

There was a detailed conversation about many of these problems; appropriate instructions were issued. "Practice makes perfect"—that was the leading idea in L.N. Zaykov's talks with leaders and ordinary working people at the plant. It was stressed that the Kirov workers' example should be followed by other industrial enterprises in the capital, which often have difficulty in eradicating freeloading sentiments. After all, the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the radical economic reform, and the deepening of democracy are today opening up broad scope for bold and enterprising actions. We should not try merely to catch up with world models, but to claim our place in the vanguard of technical progress and improve production standards. That is how to enhance the honor of the "Made in the USSR" label. The example of the First Timepiece Plant is evidence that under the new conditions the key to success is tireless questing and the development of the masses' creativity in every possible way.

Taking part in the conversations were I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.I. Volskiy, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department; M.S. Shkabardnya, USSR minister of instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems; and O.A. Korolev, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

The 500-strong detachment of Communists at the First Timepiece Plant plays an important role in the activity of the party organization in Zhdanovskiy Rayon, which has a considerable industrial potential. Questions of the improvement of party leadership of restructuring and the style and methods of the work of elective organs were discussed during L.N. Zaykov's meeting with members of the CPSU Raykom Bureau and apparatus. The work and plans of the rayon's Communists were recounted by R.V. Zhukov, first secretary of Zhdanovskiy party raykom.

At the stage of the radical renewal of Soviet society, it was stressed during the meeting, party committees must be the combat headquarters of restructuring and lead work to implement the radical economic reform, expand glasnost, and assert democratic principles in production management and in cadre selection and placement. Communists' activeness and responsibility should be enhanced in every possible way, elements of formalism should be resolutely eschewed, and political work with the masses should be linked to the specific tasks of restructuring. It is necessary to strive to achieve unity of word and deed and demand the utmost initiative, discipline, and efficiency from party members.

People, their prosperity, and the implementation of the principle of social justice must be a subject of main concern for party and soviet organs. Questions concerning the vital interests of working people must be constantly monitored by party raykoms and rayispolkoms. At the present stage the development and implementation by each rayon in the capital of its own "Progress'95" comprehensive territorial and sectorial program for national economic intensification are designed to play an important role in the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

It is necessary to devote constant attention to the scientific generalization and dissemination of the work experience of party committees and bureaus under the new conditions of economic management, to step up the work of labor collective councils, and to further develop self-management at production. It is only through painstaking organizational, political, and educational work that tangible results in restructuring and major improvements in all areas of socioeconomic progress can be achieved in order to ensure a fitting reception for the 19th all-union party conference.

Yakovlev Addresses CC Ideological Meeting

PM291203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

["Conference in the CPSU Central Committee"—headline]

[Text] A conference was held in the CPSU Central Committee on 26 February with leaders of ideological departments, the mass media, and academic institutes for the social sciences dedicated to the tasks of ideological work in light of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) decisions and the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: Revolutionary Restructuring Requires Ideology of Renewal.

A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the conference participants. He stressed that the beginning of the new stage of the restructuring raises a great number of new questions and brings to life much that is unusual. These questions must be tackled in a creative manner; they should be approached with an open psychology and in a concrete manner, without losing one's sense of what is most important.

This is precisely why the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee February plenum raised loud and clear the topics of history and the present, the interconnection between material and spiritual processes and between ideological work and education in our society, and the dialectics of domestic and international factors.

The attention of the conference participants was focused first and foremost on the practical tasks ensuing from the plenum decisions, both regarding questions connected with restructuring secondary and higher education and with the development of the entire education complex, and regarding restructuring as a whole and its ideological foundation. Note was made of the great role played by the mass media in holding a broad public debate on the problems of schools on the eve of the Central Committee plenum. This positive experience deserves to be extended to the key problems currently of concern to our society: the role of the collective and the place of specific individuals in the restructuring; the actual progress achieved in implementing the cardinal economic reform and the process of democratization; ways of galvanizing local initiative and responsibility as much as possible; and overcoming all forms of dependence.

Stress was laid on man's decisive importance in restructuring. His political and moral character, his standard of education and his beliefs, his organization and discipline, his professional skills, and all his personal qualities are extremely important elements of restructuring. The formation of lofty virtues in the individual and of his socialist consciousness proceeds not only through the press, television, science, and culture; consciousness has its foundations in people's real life and in their entire existence.

Ideological work today addresses not only man's consciousness, but also the entire complex of factors and conditions in which he lives. It regards the individual, first and foremost, as the subject of the transformations being implemented in the country, as their active and committed participant. One of the demands made on ideological work during the restructuring period is not to pollute society's spiritual environment with various kinds of cliquishness, rivalry of ambitions, ineffectual day-dreaming, and myth-making. The ideological worker's responsibility and competence are displayed, first and foremost, when he addresses real questions in life and that which worries poeple, when he tries to find out the causes, and when he consistently works to resolve the problems arising in the course of the restructuring.

Glasnost, which is asserting itself ever more firmly in our society and which will continue to develop more extensively, urgently requires an improvement in the qualitative and substantive level of speeches. An unprecedentedly broad range of complex issues has now been placed at the center of public attention. In the public consciousness, restructuring is connected directly, unambiguously, and justly with an honest and full picture of our past, with a frank and responsible analysis of the present, with a realistic view of the future, and with scientific and civic conscientiousness.

Note was made of the special role played by the mass media and the social sciences in the recently commenced process of nationwide preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Central Committee plenum raised questions which have a profound social nature and demand consistent implementation in the conditions of restructuring.

Taking part in the work of the conference were senior employees of the CPSU Central Committee.

Yakovlev Attends PRAVDA Conference

PM261458 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Correspondents' Conference"]

[Text] A conference of PRAVDA correspondents working in the union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts of the country was held in Moscow. The journalists discussed their tasks in covering preparations for the

19th All-Union Party Conference and the course of the restructuring.

The conference was addressed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Taking part in the conference were Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and USSR minister, and A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs.

Dissidents Jailed for 'Political Pornography'
AU281850 Paris AFP in English 1843 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 28 (AFP)—Soviet militiamen on Sunday arrested two men and a woman who were selling paintings at Izmailovo Park, east of here, to raise funds for the dissident review EKSPRESS-KRONIKA, the review's editor Alexander Podrabinek said

The painter Alexander Kulagin, his wife Tamara and his own father, Pinkhos Podrabinek, were charged with "political pornography," Mr Podrabinek told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The three were arrested at mid-day and released after about three hours. Mr Kulagin's paintings were confiscated. Mr Kulagin had exhibited his paintings in the park every weekend for several months without any intervention by the police, Mr Podrabinek added.

Information Report on Kazakh CP CC Plenum
PM291525 Alma-ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 88 p 1

["Information Report on Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"—kazakhstanskaya PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The 11th Kazakh Communist Party Central CommitteePlenum took place 9 February. The plenum examined the question "On the Republican Party Organization's Tasks To Further Increase Consumer Goods Production, Develop Paid Services, and Balance the Population's Income and Expenditure."

N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, delivered the report on this question.

The following took part in the debate on the report: N. Iskaliyev, first secretary of Uralsk Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; S.SH. Shaukhamanov, chairman of Taldy-kurgan Oblispolkom; N.I. Smirnova, cutter at the "Kazakhstan" (Alma-ata) bespoke tailoring and clothing repair firm; A.CH. Dzhomartov, Kazakh SSR minister of light industry; V.YU. Mikhaylov, first secretary of Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Gorkom; L.YE. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; and U.S. Sarsenov, chairman of the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed which will be published in the press.

Organizational questions were discussed at the plenum.

In connection with his election as chairman of of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the plenum relieved Z.K. Kamalidenov of his duties as secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum elected U. Dzhanibekov secretary and member of the Bureau of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum relieved S. Mukashev of his duties as member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement.

V.V. Vavalin and V.V. Panferov, senior officials at the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Late Wage Payment in Kazakhstan Examined
PM010923 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Grigoriy Dildyayev "Own Correspondent's Column": "Wages Delayed"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—At the end of the month the telephone at the PRAVDA correspondent's office in Kazakhstan never stops ringing. "Our wages are delayed again," people complain indignantly.

The calls come from different geographical locations, but most often from rayons and oblasts where the cash plan has not been fulfilled.

"I work at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine. We work hard in my team," A. Dukenbayev from Temirtau told me angrily. "Yet on payday we come away from the cash office with nothing but bad news. How come there is no money? Let them print more..."

Of course there is money in Karaganda Oblast. There is quite a bit of it in savings accounts, and in piggy banks at home. But the problem is that it is just lying there, instead of circulating, because of a shortage of goods and services.

In this circumstance the old joke that the quality of money depends on its quantity loses its point. "Let them print more," is not the best advice. Such "injections" only create an impression of well-being, they do not contribute to improving the economy.

Most of the telephone calls come from Karaganda Oblast. In January the shortfall against the cash plan totaled R10 million here. Yet at the end of the month R1.7 million were due to be paid out in wages to Karaganda Metallurgical Combine workers alone.

The labor collectives of the biggest industrial oblast in Kazakhstan were not left without wages, of course. But how much longer can this go on? The alarm signal must become a signal for action. More vigorous efforts to get money into circulation are necessary.

"Go tell trade workers and the managers of enterprises which produce consumer goods!" A. Dukenbayev said to me. "We metallurgists and miners must give the country rolled metal and coal. That is our job."

Well, the steelworker is right. But not entirely. Nowadays no enterprise is exempt from the production of goods and the provision of services for the population. At the selfsame Karaganda Metallurgical Combine the construction of a shop for the production of enamel kitchenware has become a neverending project. The goods produced here per ruble of wages amount to mere kopeks. A similar pitiful contribution to the common cause is made by industrial giants such as the Alma-Ata heavy machine-building plant, the Chimkent Forging and Press Equipment Production Association, and a number of coal enterprises.

Locally produced goods resources in the republic account for only some 60 percent. At the same time many specialized ministries are failing to meet plans for the production of consumer goods and the provision of paid services for the population.

During the past year noticeable progress has been achieved in Kazakhstan in the construction of housing. More people are moving into new accommodation than ever before. The problem is furnishing it. The work of the republic Ministry of the Timber Industry has sharply deteriorated and the output of much needed furniture has decreased.

There are chronic shortcomings in trade. The plan for retail trade has not been fulfilled for the 6th year in succession. Minister N. Tantsyura usually pleads objective difficulties, a reduction in goods resources, and an "erosion" of the product range. However, as in the past, trade fails to make use of its considerable internal reserves and potential. Frequently goods which are in demand are available at depots and warehouses but have not been delivered to stores. Or take the opening hours of trade enterprises. Of 12,000 city stores only 1,317 are open on Sundays. In rural areas only 1 in 3 stores is open every day.

Nor must it be forgotten that until recently vodka was the number one commodity. Sales of vodka largely determined the fulfillment of the cash plan. Well publicized directives provided for a phased reduction in vodka production and hence also vodka sales. It is necessary to act systematically here, rather than in fits and starts. Most importantly, it is necessary to replace this "commodity" by more wholesome goods.

Another matter is causing concern. Most people do not know the reason behind the wage delays. People who are attending basic economics courses ought not to be asking "Where has the money disappeared to?" This indicates that the education only takes place on paper.

The latest Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum set the task of balancing the population's monetary income and expenditure within the current year. Unless we eliminate the chronic delays in the payment of wages to the working people, they will inevitably attribute them to flaws in the process of restructuring—this was gist of this serious conversation.

Air Crash in Western Siberia; 'Loss of Life'

LD271513 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—A TU-134 passenger airliner which was on a flight along the route Minsk-Kuybyshev-Tyumen-Surgut met with an accident while landing at Surgut Airport today. Measures were taken to rescue people. Necessary aid is being given to the crash victims. There is loss of life.

The causes of the disaster are being investigated by a special commission.

The Soviet Government conveyed deep condolences to those suffering in the accident, and to the families and relatives of those killed in the accident.

Further Reports

LD271929 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] Surgut February 27 TASS—Today at 04.08, Moscow time, a TU-134 airliner met with an accident during landing at the airport of the city of Surgut (western Siberia). The plane which was on a flight along a Minsk-Kuybyshev-Tyumen-Surgut route had 45 passengers and six crewmen on board.

"Weather was good in the morning, and communication with the airliner was steady", Yuriy Yevreinov, deputy head of the Tyumen civil aviation administration, told journalists. "However, an unforseeable thing happened.

The liner fell within the airfield boundaries, broke up and caught fire. But fire-fighting and rescue services acted efficiently. They were at the scene of the disaster in two minutes' time, and gave aid to the accident victims".

A relief headquarters has been set up. Fifteen ambulance cars were immediately sent to the airport. Two hospitals were prepared to receive the accident victims. Local physicians and donors were summoned to help. Eight most experienced physicians arrived from the regional centre of Tyumen. Aid is being given to crewmen and passengers who were rushed to the hospitals. Unfortunately, there was loss of life.

A commission of the State Air Traffic Inspectorate began an investigation.

TETS Accident in Irkutsk Oblast Reported

LD272351 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] An urgent warning: This has been reported by a TASS correspondent from Irkutsk Oblast. About 500,000 cubic meters of sewage entered the Angara because of a burst dike of the Hydraulic ash outlet at the TETS in Usolye-Sibirskoye. How could this happen? A major TETS has been operating on coal in the town for more than 30 years. Over that time, the area of its hydraulic ash outlet has been growing constantly larger. The cofferdam holding it back also grew. It was increased for the last time last year. In the dead of night, one of the workers at the TETS discovered that the base of the cofferdam was eroding. However, the staff called in proved incapable of doing anything. The water mixed with slag headed for the Angara through the break that had formed. The stream passed through the neutralization station for acid-alkaline discharges from the Usolskoye Khimprom association [chemical industry] and flooded the territory of a labor and preventive treatment center [used for the re-education of alcoholics]. The people were evacuated. The quality of the water in the Angara downsteam, where the intake for the town of Cheremkhovo is located, is satisfactory. It has been possible to restore the cofferdam and the flow of waste into the river has ceased. However, the material losses are great. A commission is looking into the reasons for the accident. No doubt it will take into account that this is not the first emergency in the hydraulic ash outlets of the Angara area TETS's. It has now been decided to make an emergency inspection of protective installations.

The tass correspondent points out that this is a topical issue for many basins. It is important to analyze the situation and take urgent measures to strengthen such installations without waiting for the next emergency. This report was provided for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA where it will be published.

Nuclear Power Official on Safety Measures

LD262029 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Viktor Sidorenko, one of the senior officials in charge of nuclear power safety, has said the Soviet Union is taking extensive measures in the sphere. Control has been enhanced at all the stages of nuclear power engineering from the blueprinting and building of nuclear power plants to running them. He said last year work on nuclear power plants at various stages was stopped on 360 occasions. None of the situations developed into an accident. Viktor Sidorenko said nuclear power engineering was universally recognized as necessary and economically feasible and that it would be developed everywhere.

42 AIDS Carriers Identified in USSR

LD271744 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] The Soviet health minister, Yevgeniy Chazov, has reported that two institutions have been set up in this country to combat AIDS. One of the establishments coordinates diagnostics and treatment of this dangerous disease, the other sets priorities in scientific research into AIDS. Chazov also said that 42 AIDS virus carriers and 1 sick person have been discovered in the USSR. The health minister believes people infective of the AIDS virus shouldn't be isolated from society but should be examined by medical experts.

New Mental Health Regulations Take Effect

LD011312 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The new regulations for the terms and order of rendering psychiatric aid in the USSR are going into force as of today, a TASS correspondent was told by Professor Marat Vartanyan, director of the All-Union Mental Health Research Centre.

He said that progress made by psychiatry in recent decades had necessitated a new approach to organizing the mental health services. A single legislative act embraces now all aspects of medical aid, social welfare and legal protection of mental patients, the scientist said. While guaranteeing the patients advanced methods of therapy in hospitals, minimum restrictions in the course of therapy, the state ensures the system of control for its correctness. To this end the office of chief psychiatrists of republics, regions and cities is being established. Non-professional control by the local bodies of power, courts and procurator's offices is being introduced. Both the patients and their relatives may resort to it.

Touching upon the social security for mental patients, Vartanyan recalled that they enjoy free medical attention and are provided medicines free, have the right to disability pensions and to work on special favourable terms.

Vartanyan stressed the significance of international cooperation between scientists in the field of psychiatry. Soviet medical men, he recalled, participate practically in all the programs of the World Health Organization on those problems. As far as the outcry around Soviet psychiatry in the West is concerned, it has been motivated by no means by concern with the interests of the patients, whose number increases in this troubled age. This propaganda farce is motivated by political considerations and is of a provocative character. Nevertheless international scientific contacts are continuing. Recently, for example, Soviet psychiatrists have received proposals from their American colleagues from Boston and Cambridge on cooperation in the study of the nature of mental diseases.

Psychiatrist Answers Questions on New Law

LD291119 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Feb 88

[text] [Announcer] Until recently, the psychiatric service held a firm place on the list of so-called closed subjects. Obsolete orders and instructions led to a situation in which the doctors—sometimes through inexperience, sometimes through over-caution—not infrequently infringed their patients' rights. But tomorrow, the provisions on the conditions and procedure for psychiatric treatment approved by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree come into force.

Our correspondent interviews Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Churkin, chief psychiatrist of the USSR Ministry of Health.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Perhaps you would give us your comments on the most important points of the new law?

[Churkin] Let us take some concrete examples. A system is introduced for monitoring—strictly monitoring—the activities of doctors. There will be professional monitoring, introduced by establishing the posts of chief psychiatrists of public health bodies, who will be independent of the chief physicians of psychoneurological institutions; and also monitoring by the courts, public prosecutor's office, and soviets of people's deputies.

The new law differs from all previous instructions in that it is built on the concept of widening patients' rights. It is stipulated directly that the patient, or his relatives or guardians, have the right to appeal to a more senior psychiatrist or directly to a court, against any action by a psychiatrist. Formerly, if a patient did not accept his diagnosis or was not willing to be admitted to a psychiatric hospital, the higher public health authority would set up a commission at its own discretion. Now, under the new law, the patient or his relatives have the right to appoint to the commission a psychiatrist living in the area in question.

[Correspondent] But it seems to be the relatives who are being given this right, and not the patient himself.

[Churkin] Not at all. The patient, too, can choose a psychiatrist in whom he has confidence. The relatives are involved only when the courts have declared the patient incapable. We psychiatrists are pleased that the new provisions include a clause which stipulates an obligation to the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies to show concern for the mentally ill and to give them all possible social and legal assistance.

Another point about the new law is that all the instructions, clauses, and rules governing the hospitalization of patients and such things as the procedure for clinical registration, must be open for inspection. In other words, whereas before they were practically inaccessible to the patient and his relatives, from now on all these matters will be quite simple, and the hospital or clinic administration will be obliged to make these documents available on first demand.

[Correspondent] You've mentioned the clinics, and we know that the USSR Ministry of Health is carrying out an experiment.

[Churkin] Yes, indeed: from 1 January of this year, an experiment has begun in which the regulations concerning clinical registration and the clinical observation of the mentally ill are being changed. So now, we'll be discharging patients who are suffering from disturbances which are of brief duration or are running a favorable course, and they will seek treatment on a voluntary basis.

[Correspondent] in your opinion, do the new provisions encompass all aspects of the psychiatric service?

[Churkin] Of course there are aspects of the document that still need to be worked on. For instance, there is as yet no provision for prosecuting persons who encourage mental patients to get drunk or take narcotics, which naturally complicates the course of their illness and leads to sad results.

[Correspondent] Do you feel that these provisions will considerably improve the work of our psychiatric service?

[Churkin] Undoubtedly. But what is very important is that it should change society's attitude to psychiatry and the mentally ill. We have great hopes that this will be so. [end recording]

Austrian Correspondent Discusses Pamyat

PM261945 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 7, 14 Feb 88 p 4

[Interview with Austrian television Moscow correspondent Franz Koessler by Andrey Gurkov: "Shadows Off Screen. Pamyat: Impressions and Reflections"; date not given]

[Text] Austrian television has broadcast a programme shot by its Moscow correspondent Franz Koessler about the association Pamyat and an interview with one of its leaders Dmitriy Vasilyev.

The programme has been seen by "MN" correspondent Andrey Gurkov. Franz Koessler tells him about his impressions of Pamyat's activities.

MN: You have interviewed Dmitriy Vasilyev—why this interest in Pamyat on Austrian TV?

F. Koessler: In my two and a half years' reporting from Moscow I've been trying to present as complete a picture of Soviet society as I could, and in particular to tell about the groups and associations that emerged as a result of the glasnost policy. I have done reports on glasnost, refusniks, the Krishna sect and so on. In the Soviet press I've read many stories about Pamyat, but the publications more often than not were rather vague, so as a journalist I wanted to understand what this association was all about.

MN: What conclusions have you come to?

F.K.: I think the phenomenon fits quite well into a certain tradition which had already formed in prerevolutionary Russia. I have in mind the antagonism of two trends in society. One trend upheld the same ideals as the European Enlightenment. I place in this category the revolutionary movement that turned to Marxism, which, in part, is also a product of the Enlightenment.

The other trend was anti-Enlightenment and anti-Western—not politically, but socially and culturally. I would conventionally term it Russian, mystical and religious. This is the mood, I think, reflected today by Pamyat, some literary circles and part of the ecological movement (in Austria the "Green" movement is also right wing).

But not to be overlooked is also the fact that Pamyat's reasoning proceeds from the existing problems. In his flat Dmitriy Vasilyev (he is a photographer) showed us his works hung on the walls. In them he turns again and again to the fate of the monuments of Russian culture and architecture. The crumbling churches, the ruined monastries...As a foreigner I find it painful to look at them. But what do Russian people feel when seeing them? I know that the sight is an insult to their feelings, which is precisely what Pamyat exploits. Vasilyev was telling me about the problems of the country's agriculture, about people leaving villages, food queues humiliating to people who live in such a vast country of great natural wealth.

Obviously, mistakes, or, as you say, excesses, were also made in the case of the antireligion campaigning which took no account of the real mood among the people. As a result religious feelings had to be "kept inside" where they thrived and took on clearly mystical aspects. Thus the real mistakes and miscalculations created a nutrient medium for Pamyat. In Vasiliyev I saw someone who builds his policy in his knowledge of such painful problems and the sentiments of part of the population.

What I find simply scary about this policy is that Pamyat leaders set themselves the goal of spreading the idea that standing behind all the negative happenings is a certain clan, a centre, which pulls the strings to undermine consciously the Russian nation, to destroy it purposefully both spiritually and physically. Vasilyev calls this centre "world Zionism".

I would like to stress: Vasilyev who answered my questions after careful consideration, used exclusively the term "Zionism" and denied he was an anti-Semite. He said he had nothing against the Jewish nation and individual Jews. In my view, however, his pronouncements were clearly anti-Semitic. And the words about some "Zionist plot" contain an implied call to the Russian people to defend themselves. Against Whom? Jews of course. Even if Vasilyev speaks merely about "Zionism", the question is, what happens to his calls in the minds (very excited perhaps) of his followers, what actions might they prompt?

MN: During the interview the camera pans over the walls in Vasilyev's study. It shows a red cloth with a white circle in the centre and the slogan "Truth fears no judgement." Another slogan reads: "Courage every day." A red banner with a white circle...That reminds me of the German newsreels of the 1930s, and about a recent Austrian film about young neo-Nazis. Do you have similar feelings?

F.K.: Yes, Pamyat's logos are very reminiscent of the right-wing extremist groups in the West. But I would not start drawing a parallel between Pamyat and fascism. Fascism arises in certain historical circumstances; there were reasons for it. Pamyat has different, specific roots. Be as it may, Pamyat's symbols, rhetoric and structure have something in common with fascism. This structure is rather rigid, judging by everything. Vasilyev maintained in his interview that Pamyat had 20,000 members in Moscow alone, and contacts with 30 Russian cities and towns.

MN: The TV programme shows shots of the walls in your interviewee's study with portraits of Nicholas II, Stolypin, and Vasilyev himself cast as Stolypin in a film, and icons (Vasilyev says he is religious). On the table is a volume of Lenin. In the interview Vasilyev zealously supports the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress, and quotes from the Party Programme. Then he proceeds to quote from the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. How do you think he manages to reconcile all those things?

F.K.: Truth to say they are hard to reconcile...The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion have long been recognized in the West as forgeries and are a sacred book of anti-Semitic literature. All rational sense is lost in this hodge-podge. Pamyat's ideological platform is indeed irrational. In this lies its danger, because irrational arguments appeal to emotion rather than to mind. But therein also lies its vulnerability, because it cannot stand

up to rational criticism. Therefore, whatever Vasilyev says about his support of glasnost, an open and above-board discussion would not be to Pamyat's benefit.

MN: This, I think, explains the recent episode at the ZIL automobile, works reported in the Soviet media. The workers offered an open discussion to representatives of Pamyat during a meeting. But Vasilyev and his followers just walked out after making a noisy scene.

F.K.: On the other hand, the atmosphere of being semi-legal and "harassed" is an asset for Pamyat, because it gives it some mythical aura and creates a legend around its martyrdom. It's hard to hide away in the glare of public criticism. But this criticism should be business-like, specific and well-reasoned. All too often a caricature is drawn, which it then criminalized. Criticism concentrates mostly on people and not on ideas. As a result, denunciations of Pamyat sound less convincing. By the way, other informal associations often come under the same kind of ill-founded criticism in the press. Meanwhile, there are very interesting groups among them which possess great social energy and sincerely support perestroyka.

MN: Pamyat leaders make out to be supporters of perestroyka. But, in actual fact, the difficulties it runs into play into their hands: They explain that they are the result of a "conspiracy". By the way, all searching for mythical enemies of perestroyka has always been to the advantage of the enemies of glasnost.

F.K.: Yes, Vasilyev's interpretation of perestroyka is rather peculiar. He demands more democracy, primarily for himself. As for the opponents of his ideas and the critics of Pamyat, they are declared enemies of perestroyka.

The activities of Pamyat should not be underestimated. The phenomenon requires serious analysis. I think that a society which really has democratic structures can effectively withstand any extremists and reliably defend itself with the aid of legislation. If society is self-critical, it should be able to muster enough strength to admit its real failures and to set to work on improving the soil that nourishes all sorts of irrational movements.

Shalayev Report to Dec AUCCTU Plenum

18280024a Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Dec 87 pp 2-4

[Report by AUCCTU Chairman S. A. Shalayev: "On the Work of Primary Trade Union Organizations in the New Economic and Self-Management Conditions"]

[Text] Comrades!

The departing year, 1987, was marked by major events in the sociopolitical life of the Soviet people. Decisions of the January, June, and October CPSU Central Committee Plenums have exceptionally important significance to comprehensive substantiation of the party's course toward restructuring personnel policy, implementing radical economic reform, further decisive democratization of our society and development of socialist self-management.

Held at the beginning of the year, the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions defined the role and tasks of Soviet trade unions in the general restructuring effort and in the fight to accelerate socioeconomic development. The Congress gave answers to these questions: How should the largest organizations of laborers work in the new conditions, and what is the essence of restructuring their own activity?

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a central event of the year. The Soviet people demonstrated their unity about the CPSU and their active support of the course toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, restructuring and renewing all spheres of the society's life and comprehensively developing democracy and glasnost.

The October anniversary confirmed the strength of the international authority of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the world public's growing interest in the ideas and progress of the restructuring effort in the USSR, and it emphasized the vanguard role being played by the motherland of October in the fight for peace and social progress. The most important political result of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October was that it once again confirmed that there are no alternatives to the restructuring policy, which is opening up a new historical perspective.

The principles, assessments and conclusions formulated in the report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" at a joint solemn meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet have fundamental political significance to all of the party's activity and the life of Soviet society.

The report reflects the profound changes that have occurred in our country and in the world in the seven post-October decades, and it contains realistic assessments of the most important periods of socialist construction. It orients us on decisive rejection of obsolete dogmas and stereotypes, and it stimulates a creative search for new paths of theoretical and practical development. It significantly develops the conception of the new way of political thinking and of progress toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

The most important evidence supporting this statement is the recent signing of a Treaty between the USSR and the U.S.A. to Eliminate Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. Owing to the active, untiring, purposeful, peace-loving policy of our country's Communist Party and the Soviet state—a policy which is supported by the widest circles

of the international public, a historical step has been taken in the direction of fulfilling the hopes of mankind for a nuclear- free world, real disarmament and improvement of the political climate on our planet.

Comrades! In the course of celebrating the 70th anniversary of Great October the Soviet people have in a sense summarized the results of the first stage of the restructuring effort that was started in April 1985. This was a stage of exceptionally intense creative work by our party, by its Central Committee and by all Soviet people. It provided us with a plan for revolutionary renewal and a specific program of action, it laid the basis for the new economic mechanism, and it immeasurably widened the possibilities for direct and interested participation of the broad laboring masses in economic, political, social and spiritual transformations. A process of surmounting stagnant phenomena in the leading sectors of the economy has begun, and the rate of growth of production has risen somewhat. More attention is being devoted to accelerating development of the entire social sphere.

The period since the 18th Trade Union Congress provides the grounds for concluding that restructuring has also been started in the activities of the country's trade unions.

Characteristic traits of the renewal their lives are undergoing include expansion of the independence of all trade union organizations, greater purposefulness in solving specific problems, improvement of work style, intensification of the fight against proliferation of paperwork, expansion of democratic methods of leadership in trade union organizations, wider placement of workers, young people and women in trade union jobs, and enlargement of the responsibility of trade union members for compliance with requirements of the Charter. The activity of many trade union organizations in planning and in accomplishing important social tasks such as improving working conditions and accelerating solution of the housing problem has risen. Measures are being implemented to fundamentally restructure the work of trade union agencies directed at protecting workers' rights and the legal interests of laborers.

Fulfilling decisions of the trade union congress, the AUCCTU submitted proposals to directive agencies on problems important to laborers—ones such as improving the system of leaves for blue and white collar workers, improving pensions, including those of kolkhoz farmers, and raising the role of trade unions in determining economic standards for associations and enterprises and in price-setting questions. These proposals have been supported. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet accepted a proposal by the AUCCTU and the Committee for Soviet Women to provide more favorable working conditions to working women allowing them to combine active participation in social production with child raising. A corresponding ukase was adopted. Work is proceeding on a draft USSR law on the rights of trade unions.

Speaking on this subject, I must at the same time emphasize that we have not yet achieved deep and stable positive changes in the work of all trade union organizations. They are still dragging their heels in addressing today's restructuring tasks, they are too slow to join the general process of democratization and renewal, and they are not associating their daily activities closely enough with the concerns and needs of the labor collectives.

Our country is now entering a new stage of restructuring. The next 2 and perhaps 3 years will be the most complex, decisive and, in a certain sense, critical, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in a report at a solemn meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October. This is primarily because we will have to simultaneously solve major problems in the economy, the social sphere, restructuring state and social administration, and ideology and culture.

Next year, 1988, is to be especially significant in the accomplishment of these tasks. It will become a decisive period of practical solution of two key problems in society's development, ones that will determine the fate of restructuring—democratization of all social life and radical economic reform. The plan for the country's economic and social development in 1988 adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet foresees attaining the levels established in the five-year plan for 1986-1988 in relation to the most important indicators, and laying the groundwork for fulfilling the five-year plan as a whole.

Other highly important features of the next year will include enactment of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and mass conversion of enterprises and organizations of industry, construction, transportation, communication and personal services, and of all kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Russian Federation, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and a significant proportion of the agricultural enterprises of other union republics, to new economic conditions and self-financing. The range of products subjected to state inspection is widening significantly.

The enterprise is becoming the focal point of all further efforts to restructure and accelerate socioeconomic development. It is the principal unit of the economy in which all products are created, scientific-technical thought takes on material form, the personal, collective and state interests of the Soviet people take actual shape and intertwine, and our society's democracy truly manifests itself.

The Law on the State Enterprise (Association) foresees dramatic expansion of the independence of the enterprise and transition from predominantly administrative to predominantly economic methods. The central idea of the law is to create production and social conditions and stimuli for labor collectives which would encourage them to successfully fulfill their main task—fully satisfying the demand of the national economy and the

population for needed products, manufacturing these products with the lowest outlays, and advancing their production and social development depending on the results of their activity and their earned assets.

Simultaneously with this, the law presupposes a transition to a democratic system of management, to development of self-management at enterprises. This is in fact the main key to restructuring economic management and mobilizing the main reserve, activating the human factor.

Enactment of the law also decisively changes the objective conditions in which the principal element of the trade unions—the primary trade union organization—operates. Its possibilities for actively influencing all aspects of the organization of production and social development of the labor collective are noticeably increasing, and its role as a direct participant of self-management and as a school of socialist economics is growing.

The 23d Trade Union Congress specified that improving the work of primary organizations is our central task, and the main condition for restructuring the activities of trade unions in general. Many of the trade union committees of primary organizations, especially at enterprises which have already converted to the new economic conditions, improved the results of their work somewhat following the congress. They are now introducing new, progressive forms of work based on wider encouragement of the participation of all active trade union members and all laborers in production management and in social life.

However, the overall level of work being done by primary trade union organizations and the activities of most of them still do not satisfy today's requirements or create possibilities for not falling behind, for marching in step with the party, for actively and effectively helping it accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

Improvement of the work of primary trade union organizations naturally depends on more than just these organizations alone. It is a concern of all trade union organizations from bottom up. Improvement in their work depends to a decisive degree on restructuring the work of sector trade unions in general and of their central, republic, kray and oblast committees, trade union councils and the AUCCTU. Speaking directly, we can say that the extent to which every primary organization fulfills its responsibilities should be judged on the basis of how much the work of these trade union agencies improves.

This is why we attach such great significance to this plenum of the AUCCTU and to the need for clearly spelling out here the specific measures that would make it possible to successfully carry out the task posed by the trade union congress—fundamentally restructuring the work of our principal unit—the primary trade union organization—under the conditions of the new economic methods and self-management. We decided to discuss this issue at the plenum immediately following the trade union congress.

During our preparations for the plenum, in which AUCCTU members and candidate members, representatives of trade union central committees and councils and active trade union members participated, we studied and generalized the initial experience in the work of the trade union committees of a large group of enterprises that had converted to self-financing, and we prepared proposals suggested by this experience, which were discussed by over 12,000 trade union committees. Today these proposals are submitted to you for your examination.

The discussion will naturally center on the primary organizations of those enterprises and associations to which the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) applies. But this does not mean that what is said here would not also pertain to all other trade union organizations representing laborers in the public services, including in state trade, public health, education, culture and state institutions.

No matter what sector of the national economy it may belong to, no primary trade union organization can absent itself from the great changes occurring in our society, from the restructuring effort, from solving nationwide problems.

Intensifying the Influence of Primary Trade Union Organizations on Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the New Economic Conditions [subhead]

Comrades! The preliminary results of the work of all associations and enterprises of five industrial ministries, and of 37 associations and enterprises of other sectors of the national economy in the conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing demonstrated the effectiveness of the new economic methods and the correctness of the paths chosen by the party for implementing economic reform. These enterprises' collectives are doing a better job this year of delivering their products to consumers, their profit growth rate has more than doubled, labor productivity is growing faster, and labor resources are being utilized more efficiently. These enterprises have started being more careful about spending their assets intended to be used as capital investments.

At the same time the results of their work also revealed serious difficulties arising during transition to the new economic conditions. Besides a number of objective causes the unpreparedness of many labor collectives and serious mistakes made by ministries and departments during conversion of the enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing had their impact. Many enterprise

trade union committees and certain trade union central committees that had not reorganized their work in application to the new tasks were also unable to meet the requirements.

The country is now entering the second stage of restructuring. It is undergoing a transition from searching for ways to carrying out the restructuring program, selecting the directions and methods of work and conducting economic experiments to the complex stage of radical economic reform and further democratizing society. This stage is affecting millions of people and their interests, and it is no longer possible to solve the new problems by old methods.

This is why the task posed by the 28th Trade Union Congress to decisively intensify all the trade unions' production and economic work and to significantly change the forms and content of this work is acquiring special urgency today. The focus of this work must be shifted to the primary organization, which is enjoying increasing possibilities for influencing the enterprises' economic activity and raising its effectiveness.

Without dwelling on all problems in the trade unions' production and economic work, we must focus attention on those features of this work that are associated with mass conversion of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing.

Participation of trade union organizations in planning is acquiring great importance. As we know, the new planning system is unique in that the enterprise's labor collective itself writes the plan for economic and social development and approves it at its own general meeting. In this manner the plan acquires public recognition, and it becomes the collective's own plan, an expression of its rights and powers.

Under these conditions the traditional planning function performed by the trade union committee is experiencing significant changes. Its participation in planning is becoming one of the chief resources by which the trade union organization can solve the most important production and social problems.

To the trade union committee, participating in forming the plan means working together with the council of the labor collective to reveal the production reserves and make sure that the plan would be formed starting from the bottom—from the work station, and then proceeding to the brigade, the shop and the production operation, so that the administration could promptly submit control assignments and state orders to each structural subdivision and to each brigade, and so that the latter would in turn understand their production and economic tasks well. The trade union groups and shop committees of the trade unions should also become the real spirit of this process.

Considering that the social program of the plan and utilization of planned cost-accounting income are especially important to the trade union organization, the trade union committee must clearly define and defend its position on this issue, and if necessary it must submit alternative proposals to keep the social sphere from falling behind production development, and to effectively remedy technocratic sluggishness.

We are especially concerned by the fact that the signing of business contracts for 1988 is disorganized. The AUCCTU turned attention to this very alarming situation in October of this year at the Eighth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet during an examination of the draft plan for the country's socioeconomic development in the forthcoming year. The situation has improved somewhat, but many enterprises have still been unable to sign contracts for product deliveries.

Thus according to information from the USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] the volume of industrial products for which delivery contracts were signed as of 26 November was less than 70 percent at enterprises of the Ministries of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, and less than 80 percent at enterprises of the Ministries of Ferrous Metallurgy, of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building and of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. Most alarming is that things are going just as poorly with the signing of business contracts for the volume of industrial products in the first quarter.

The obvious question is: How do these enterprises intend to work at the beginning of the year if they do not have all of the business contracts they need for the specific products they are to produce and for the necessary materials and associated parts? Besides a certain lack of discipline, the fact that many business executives have not yet accumulated experience in working in the new way and in signing contracts, especially in relation to the part of the plan that is not covered by state orders, is also having a significant effect in this area. In many cases this is the first time they have ever arranged such direct ties; moreover they are not receiving adequate assistance in this matter from the ministries and departments.

The trade union organizations should not remain aloof from these problems. This is where the trade unions can perform a specific protective function, since even the best plans will not produce the anticipated results unless material and equipment supply and dependable marketing of the enterprise's products are organized in time. In the final analysis all of this can also affect the solution of social problems. The trade union central committees and the enterprise trade union committees are obligated to assume special control over the signing of business contracts, and when necessary, to bring these matters up

to the ministries, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gossnab in an incisive, principled manner. Everything must be done to make sure that all business contracts, especially those for the first quarter of next year, are signed in the immediate future. Concern must be shown for strengthening long-term ties with associated enterprises, and business contracts must be reinforced with creative cooperation between the collectives.

Proper establishment of the standards to be followed by enterprises in forming and utilizing their income and the stability of these standards have important significance to the new economic conditions and to self-financing. Only under these conditions will the enterprises be able to participate in expanded reproduction normally and to create the funds necessary for social development of the labor collectives.

At the same time the economic standards submitted to the enterprises by ministries and departments elicit great concern in many collectives. Enterprises of motor vehicle industry, agricultural machine building, the Ministries of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, of Ferrous Metallurgy, of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and several other organizations have submitted many justified complaints that the standards lack objectivity.

Certain trade union central committees simply fail to understand the entire acuity of this issue. Their participation in determining standards together with the ministries is sometimes formal in nature, and they pay little heed to the arguments of labor collectives and primary trade union organizations. In violation of the law, some ministries and departments permit frequent adjustments of the standards and confiscation of a fraction of the assets earned by the collectives. Recently the CPSU Central Committee very strictly condemned such cases, as well as attempts by some central economic departments to publish instructions which contradict the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which reduce stimulation funds under various excuses and thus directly harm the development of the new economic mechanism and undermine the people's faith in its effectiveness. In the meantime the leaders of the trade union central committees sit silent, as exemplified by M.V. Ikharlova, chairman of the central committee of the trade union of textile and light industry workers. They fail to take appropriate steps to protect collectives from incompetent or unwarranted interference by ministries and territorial organs; sometimes they are simply unaware that such "directives" affecting certain enterprises or the entire sector have already been sent to the enterprises.

The plenum is right to demand that trade union central committees and executives participate very responsibly and competently not only in drafting standards and in efforts to ensure a justified, differential approach to solving problems associated with converting enterprises to self-financing, but also in creating an efficient, dependably operating system of economic protection of collectives based on the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the rights of trade unions. I would like to emphasize once again the great importance of this work: Successful operation of the new economic mechanism and, most importantly, the faith of the labor collectives in the law and in the goal of restructuring depend on it, after all.

But at the same time I have to note that the labor collectives and trade union organizations also often make clearly immoderate requests—that deductions into the state budget be reduced for them, thus ensuring larger stimulation funds. The trade unions must assume a principled position in this matter.

The restructuring effort is being carried out not to increase the number of the state's dependents but to create powerful stimuli for effective management as the basis of all social development.

The most important feature of the production efforts and economic work of the trade unions in the new economic conditions is their participation in introducing cost accounting into the production operations, and introducing the collective contract. Without this, the new economic mechanism would not begin to operate, and it would not produce a real return. Only cost accounting and the contract can make each individual and each brigade interested in high end results, and can bring about the main goal of restructuring the economic mechanism— putting the human factor fully into play.

It should be noted frankly that most primary trade union organizations are standing aloof from the effort to introduce cost accounting, feeling that this is none of their business. Nor are business executives displaying much initiative in this area. As a result cost accounting is being introduced extremely slowly into the production operations. Today almost 80 percent of workers in industry are organized into brigades. But the majority of these organizations have been created in name only, often just to keep in style. The people are held together only by the production process, and in all other things the collective is not a brigade.

For example, only 4.5 percent of the workers in industry are working on the basis of contracts, and just a little over 30 percent of the brigades have been converted to cost accounting. As of 1 January 1988 all enterprises of the Ministries of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, of Mineral Fertilizer Production, of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and of Ferrous Metallurgy will convert to full cost accounting and self-financing, but the number of cost-accounting brigades in these sectors does not exceed 20-30 percent. Local inspections reveal that even these percentages do not always reflect reality.

The inspections show that around half of the workers of cost-accounting and contracting brigades are dissatisfied with their work because the conditions required for the work have not been created, because shortcomings exist in material and technical support and because of the absence of cost-accounting relations with their neighbors, with the engineering service of the production operation and with material supply organizations, which makes it impossible to fully realize the advantages of collective forms of labor organization and stimulation. Many brigades listed as cost-accounting brigades still practice unwarranted leveling of wages: The coefficient of labor participation is not employed.

The following question inevitably arises: How do the mentioned ministries and the corresponding trade union central committees think their enterprises will work on a self-financing basis as of the beginning of next year if the principal units of these enterprises, which will have to work on a cost-accounting basis and earn a cost-accounting income—that is, money by which to finance all of the enterprise's work, have not yet been made part of this economic mechanism? Yes, it is true that the administration and the labor collective council are chiefly responsible for introducing cost accounting. But the trade unions also have a great interest in this, and they possess considerable resources which they are obligated to use to actively promote introduction of cost accounting.

V.I. Lenin emphasized long ago in his thesis "On the Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions" that "solvency" and "profitability" of state enterprises are also expressions of protection of working class interests. Payment for the end result differentiated on the basis of results of cost accounting practices is also an expression of protection of conscientious labor from unwarranted leveling of wages.

Trade union committees are mandatorily required to commit all of their resources into introduction of cost accounting—the trade union groups, the shop committees, all specialists taking an active part in the trade unions, the primary groups for introduction of scientific-technical organization, the societies of inventors and efficiency experts, and the mass media. The middle levels and the central committees of sector trade unions can and must provide serious assistance to them, including by generalizing and disseminating the best experience of using cost accounting, the collective and family contract and the checking account system in the labor collectives. Such experience, including that of the Sumy Machine Building Association and the Ulyanovsk Kontaktor Plant, is described in the materials that have been passed out to AUCCTU members. It also exists in other sectors and regions of the country.

We believe this plenum is entitled to pose the task of achieving a transition to cost accounting in all brigades and structural subdivisions of every enterprise (association) in 1988. At those enterprises where the transition to self-financing is to be made as of 1 January, this work must be completed within the first half of the year.

Every trade union committee and all trade union agencies must persistently work through the administration and the labor collective council to carry out this task, augment the role played by specialists in this effort, and ensure production executives are included in the cost accounting and contracting brigades, sections and production operations, and that their wages would also be determined on the basis of the end results. We must not yield to any arguments to delay, to postpone, to slow things down.

Comrades, we must be cognizant of the fact that all of our efforts to nurture a sense of being the real master of one's own production operation and one's own enterprise in the laborers will be fruitless unless every working man commits personally to working in cost accounting or contracting conditions in his own brigade, production section, and shop. Unless we work together with the administration to introduce the collective contract and internal cost accounting, we will not be able to convert the enterprises to self-financing. The new economic mechanism will not begin working on its own, automatically. If we do not encourage each worker to become an economist at his own work station, we will inevitably fail.

In this connection we need to significantly improve economic training. The CPSU Central Committee spelled out specific steps for restructuring the entire system of political and economic training for laborers. The trade unions have been given the task of working closely with administrative organs to organize training for laborers and kolkhoz farmers in schools of socialist management and in other forms of mass training in production economics, so that a transition could be made from occasional studies to continual education in production economics, from ivory-tower theory to concrete analysis of cost accounting in one's own shop and brigade, to practical assimilation of the methods of economic analysis, and of the habits of production management. Schools of socialist management created out of brigade and farm collectives or workers of the same occupation are becoming the principal form of training. All trade union levels, and especially the primary organizations, must take the most direct and active part in the effort to restructure training.

Comrades! The new economic conditions require new approaches to organizing socialist competition. Its relationship to cost accounting, to self-management and to all other concepts addressed by the Law on the State Enterprise must be reinforced. The fundamental principles, the paths and the resources of such restructuring of competition can be found in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee decree "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment of the Quotas of the 12th Five- Year Plan."

These principles underwent a good test in the course of the competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in which practically

all of the country's laborers participated. Millions of laborers and over 200,000 brigade, shop and section collectives fulfilled the quotas of 2 years of the 5-year plan in relation to growth of labor productivity and other indicators by the October anniversary celebration. Pledges were met successfully by 12,500 association, enterprise and organization collectives. They all made a significant contribution to strengthening the country's economy, and they helped to solve the most important national economic problems of this year.

Having successfully met their socialist pledges by the anniversary celebration, the leading collectives embarked upon a new initiative— organizing a competition to honorably welcome the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Collectives headed by V.M. Gvozdev, A.P. Potapov and V.L. Sidoreyko, V.S. Kuznetsov's brigade at the Krasnoarmeyskugol Production Association's Krasnolimanskaya Mine, A. T. Leonov's brigade at the Leningrad Zvezda Production Association, A. N. Petrov's brigade of the Zarechnyy Construction and Installation Administration of Glavvolgovyatskstroy's Gorkiy Housing Construction Combine No 1 and many others have pledged to complete the quota for 3 or more years of the 5-year plan before the conference convenes.

Production leaders who participated in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October in Moscow, recipients of the USSR State Prize and many other champions of the restructuring effort who by their selfless labor are making a contribution to accelerating the economy's development are in the vanguard of this competition. The trade unions must do everything they can to support this growing patriotic movement of laborers, and help orient it on the main, priority goals under the new economic conditions—growth of labor productivity, improvement of product quality, economization of resources, and 100 percent fulfillment of contract obligations.

The trade union committees must fight to strengthen the socialist orientation of the competition, and they need to determine which social indicators must be considered when summarizing the competition's results. The practice of many construction organizations that summarize competition results at meetings of the labor collective council concurrently with summarizing the results of economic activity deserves support. Participating in this work, the trade union committee must keep in mind that only a collective which, besides attaining high production and economic indicators, also enjoys the greatest success in social development can be a competition winner.

Labor collectives and trade union committees can decisively improve material incentives to competition participants under the new conditions. All assets of the wage and labor stimulation fund earned by the collective can now be used as a source of such incentives. These assets must be distributed among the subdivisions of an enterprise in accordance with their contribution to the end results of the enterprise's work. Competition is a means of increasing this contribution.

Among the most important objectives of all the work of the trade unions in the next year, introducing the new pay rates and salaries—the greatest social measure of the 12th 5-Year Plan—in cooperation with administrative agencies must occupy a special place. Considering that only around 13 million out of 75 million workers have been switched to the new wage conditions, the bulk of the work is still to come in the next year, when we will have to switch over 35 million laborers to the new conditions. You can imagine, comrades, how monumental this effort will be. It must be carried out in very organized fashion, without mistakes, so that this most important social measure would attain its goal—increasing the material welfare of Soviet people and raising production effectiveness.

One fundamentally unique feature of the changes being made in wages today is that all components of wages are to be increased—the pay rates, the standards, the bonus payment system, the supplementary payments and the bonuses, and that this increase is to be covered completely by internal resources.

All of this work must be carried on in the public eye, with the participation of the entire labor collective. I would like to turn the attention of the trade union committees especially to this aspect of the effort. One of the most significant shortcomings today is that the preparations for introducing the new wage conditions are being carried out secretly in many places.

As a result many mistakes are made, and cases of widespread and unjustified reduction of the ranks of the workers occur. Thus workers of the Naro-Fominsk Mechanization Administration No 3 of the Glavmosoblstroy (five persons) reported: "The ranks of all workers in our production operation were reduced by two and three levels. The administration explains this reduction by introduction of new standards. But none of the workers had been acquainted with these new standards beforehand." Similar cases have occurred in Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, in the Ukraine, in Estonia, and in Moscow.

Formalism is also condoned in labor standardization. Most enterprises reviewed the output norms of pieceworkers mechanically as a rule, increasing them in proportion to the increase in their pay rates. Where are our trade union committees? Where are the trade union central committees? What is the AUCCTU's division of mass production work and wages, which is responsible for these issues in the trade unions, doing about all of this? Why are such issues being resolved without the participation of the workers, why are the basic principles and requirements pertaining to organizing the work of converting the laborers to the new pay rates and to labor

standardization not being fulfilled? Together with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems the Secretariat of the AUCCTU must enlarge its organizational role in this work, and ensure constant, closer control over its conduct.

The second most important social task of the trade unions and of all trade union committees is to capitalize on the new management conditions, on the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise and on the new possibilities being created in connection with this to hasten completion of the task, posed by the 18th Trade Union Congress, of bringing the working conditions into full correspondence with existing standards at all work stations, significantly reducing heavy physical labor, removing machinery and equipment associated with monotonous, unhealthy work from production, and creating the appropriate personal working conditions at all enterprises. The work of furnishing the enterprises with sanitation and personal facilities required by the established norms, maintaining these facilities in exemplary fashion and creating comfortable personal conditions must be completed next year.

The congress posed the target of reducing temporary incapacitation of laborers to 10-15 percent by the end of this 5-year plan. This is a realistic target, as can be seen from the results of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

A procedure by which a significant share of the assets in the state social insurance budget economized as a result of reducing losses due to temporary incapacitation may be utilized as a supplementary source by which to strengthen the material base of public health and improve the health of laborers was established at the AUCCTU's initiative. The purpose of this initiative was to raise the interest of public health agencies, their therapeutic and preventive institutions and trade union and administrative organizations in improving the joint effort to prevent morbidity among the laborers. Public health agencies were given 140 million rubles as a result of last year's work.

Many enterprises are now able to transfer some of their cost accounting income to the development of the plant's public health services. But at the same time cases where expenditures aimed at improving working conditions and at labor protection have been reduced at certain enterprises with the silent consent of trade union committees cannot but elicit concern. In Moscow, such reductions were permitted this year in particular at the Iskra Plant of the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, Watch Plant No 2 of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and others. This was done despite the fact that many workers continue to work in the presence of excessive amounts of toxic gases, dust and noise, and in poor lighting conditions. Nor do these enterprises have enough cloakrooms, showerrooms, and lavatories. Solution of these problems is being groundlessly postponed beyond the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The trade union committees are obligated to decisively curtail attempts at economizing assets at the expense of poor working conditions, at the expense of the health of the laborers, to make full use of their right to participate in the distribution of cost accounting income, and to ensure allocation of the needed assets to improving working conditions, to strengthening the material base of plant public health and to construction of sanatoriums, health centers, plant vacation centers and sports complexes. These issues must be brought to the attention of the council of the labor collective.

Among the priority tasks of the present stage of restructuring, the party laid special emphasis on ones such as supplying food, housing, consumer goods and services to our people—that is, solving the problems that trouble the laborers most of all. I can note with special pleasure that the scale of the social program in the state plan for 1988 surpasses the quotas of the 5-year plan, and it is making it possible to implement a new complex of major measures to more fully satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people and to ensure preferential development of the social and cultural spheres.

This year 11.5 million Soviet people will improve their housing conditions. Children's preschool institutions for almost a million children, polyclinics with a total capacity of 200,000 visits per shift, and hospitals raising the availability of beds by 78,000 will be introduced. The 5-year plan's quotas for erecting boarding houses for the elderly and the disabled, vocational-technical schools, secondary schools and clubs are to be surpassed. The material base of schools of general and higher education is expanding significantly. State allocations in support of the very important centralized measures of raising the people's standard of living were increased by more than one-third. One major social measure—that of increasing pay rates and salaries—is to be continued on a wide scale in the productive sectors.

Expenditures from the state budget to finance education, public health, culture, and social welfare will increase by 9.1 percent over this year's expenditures, and they will be significantly greater than ever before.

These are the real, tangible strides of the restructuring effort, the fruits of the strong social policy developed by the 27th CPSU Congress. This concern for people elicits a feeling of great satisfaction in all Soviet people.

The transition to full cost accounting and self-financing is expanding the possibilities enterprises enjoy for implementing social measures funded by assets earned by the collectives themselves. Now every member of a labor collective must well understand and sense the fact that the social and personal well-being of himself and his

comrades depends on high end results in the enterprise's work. This fundamental feature of contemporary social policy imparts new content to the activities of the trade union organizations as well.

As was discussed earlier, the issue of intensifying the efforts of trade unions to implement the Food Program will be examined separately tomorrow at our plenum. At this moment I would like to emphasize that the role of the primary trade union organization and its responsibility for the end results of the work are growing significantly in the agro-industrial complex as well, and many problems that have been raised in this report pertain wholly to the primary organizations of rural areas.

Special emphasis should be laid on the need for strengthening the organizing role played by the trade union committees of enterprises and associations in solving the housing problem. This role is often a very low-profile one today. Many enterprises make totally unsatisfactory use of the possibilities they enjoy for expanding housing construction, including through their own resources. The executives of these enterprises find all kinds of reasons not to take on the additional trouble of organizing construction on a do-it-yourself basis, and the trade union committees follow right along.

At the same time the enterprises that have already been converted to self-financing are observing an increase in the surplus in their social development funds. Thus, in the first half of this year these surpluses increased by a factor of 3.3 in the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and by a factor of 2.9 in the Ministry of Automotive Industry. If a small enterprise finds itself too weak to build housing on its own, it should make a bolder effort to organize cooperative construction, as is being done by enterprises in Kherson for example. Six of the city's enterprises combined some of their assets and allocated 21.5 million rubles to increasing the capacity of the local housing construction combine and to expanding production of local construction materials, so the housing problems of these enterprises could be solved successfully.

The AUCCTU Presidium approved an initiative of the Vladivostok Housing Construction Combine and of 22 leading housing construction and wall material enterprises to convert to three-shift operation with the purpose of increasing production volume, reequipping the production operations, raising productive capacities and consequently improving the housing conditions of their own builders.

Showing concern for wide dissemination of this initiative is chiefly the responsibility of the central committee of the trade union of workers in construction and in construction materials industry. But the central committees of other trade unions organized in sectors possessing housing construction combines and brick plants should make a serious contribution to this effort as well. The trade union councils can also provide considerable assistance to the collectives. The following figures attest to the available reserves: Only 60-70 percent of the housing construction capacities are being utilized in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Armenia, the Turkmen SSR, the Buryat ASSR, Penza, and Ural Oblasts, Khabarovsk Kray and enterprises of the Ministry of Coal Industry, the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

The trade unions of the primary organizations must provide help in construction of municipal and housing complexes, encourage young people to participate actively in improvement of their housing conditions, and make more active use of the possibilities of private builders. For example the Ust-Kamenogorsk Lead and Zinc Combine plans to build over 600 private homes for its metallurgists; moreover, the enterprise will itself pay the cost of laying the utility lines, and the builders are being granted loans out of the social development fund. The administration and trade union committee of the Lvov Konveyer Production Association and the Volzhsk Tubing Plant are showing constant concern for private builders.

Of course, despite the major steps being taken the housing problem will not disappear from the agenda right away. Therefore it is extremely important to ensure strict social justice in the distribution of housing. The CPSU Central Committee recently reviewed information accumulated in inspections conducted by the AUCCTU and the Committee for Peoples Control. It conducted a special examination of serious violations of this principle in the distribution of housing in a number of republics, krays and oblasts. Actions of persons who had committed such violations were condemned as being a discredit to the policy of democratization and restructuring, and the reluctance of trade union councils and committees to act on violations of housing legislation was pointed out.

All trade union agencies, and especially the enterprise trade union committees, must make the proper conclusions from this serious criticism. We must ensure a level of glasnost in the distribution of housing which would make it possible for every laborer to know who would receive a new apartment when and on the basis of what grounds.

Collective contracts are acquiring different, incomparably greater significance in today's conditions. In November the AUCCTU Presidium and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems approved a new statute on signing contracts. This document grants labor collectives the right to determine the structure and the content of a collective contract themselves. The procedures for signing contracts in associations have been simplified, and the requirement that these contracts be registered was repealed. The number of attachments to the contract was significantly reduced. The new statute intensifies

control over fulfillment of mutual obligations. It defined the role of the councils of the labor collectives in drafting collective contracts and monitoring their fulfillment.

A proposal to sign collective contracts for a period of up to 5 years was submitted at the trade union congress. This proposal was examined attentively and discussed together with active trade union members and business managers. The majority favored signing collective contracts for 1 year. This opinion was stated because the collective contract has to be reexamined on a regular basis so that urgent problems facing the collective could be solved. This is why the AUCCTU Presidium and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems adopted a decision to retain the previous term of collective contracts. On the other hand they decided to establish a longer time for long-term standards, which will now be drafted as attachments to the collective contract.

On the whole, the entire procedure of signing collective contracts must be fundamentally reorganized. The practice of rewriting the same standards established by higher organizations and the planning indicators from one year to the next must be ceased. Each collective has its own problems and urgent tasks that must be addressed by the collective contract. Such problems may arise in the course of introducing new wage conditions, in distributing material and social blessings, and in improving working conditions and the health of the laborers.

For example it is extremely important for the administration to comply with the pay schedule. The administration and the trade union committee must strictly ensure that adequate funds are available on pay day. Wages must be paid in accordance with a schedule strictly specified by a collective contract. The trade unions must place these problems under special scrutiny.

There is one other issue especially important to trade union organizations that must be discussed: The new economic conditions, acceleration of scientific-technical progress, transition to intensive economics, radical reform of the national economy's management and improvement of the organizational structure of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises can result in larger layoffs of workers.

The trade union committees must make it their most important task to solve these problems in full correspondence with labor legislation and with the Law on the State Enterprise. They must make sure that the administration carefully examines each possible layoff carefully, jointly with the trade union committee and the labor collective's council, in the public eye and with the direct participation of the collective in which the individual in question works. Specific concern must be displayed for finding work for him and for retraining him—that is, this matter must be addressed from a socialist standpoint. Each laborer must be firmly assured that there really is work for him, and that his right to work is guaranteed.

Problems concerned with laying off workers and finding other employment for them must be placed under special control by trade union committees at all levels. In particular, the experience of collectives of the Belorussian Railroad is well known. Also deserving of attention is the experience of Estonian enterprises, which found possibilities for manufacturing additional products worth 95 million rubles per year, thus ensuring full employment. Many enterprises possess reserves that would allow such measures. This is why we need to make more active use of the labor of laid-off workers chiefly within our own enterprises by increasing the number of shifts in which effective equipment is operated and by capitalizing on other possibilities.

In this connection the training and cross-training of workers with the purpose of upgrading their qualifications and their possibilities for material support in connection with change in the nature of work acquires important significance.

Soviet people are not threatened by unemployment. Full employment of the population and absence of unemployment are the most important accomplishments of socialism. At the same time good work must be the norm for every Soviet laborer.

The new economic conditions require intensification of educational work in the labor collective and a struggle against mismanagement, violations of labor and social discipline, and drunkenness. Measures implemented by trade union organizations in this respect will doubtlessly be supported more actively now by the laborers themselves. The movement for a collective guarantee of labor and social discipline started by the Severskiy Tubing Plant has acquired new momentum. As many as 15 percent of the brigades in industry and construction are now participating in it. This amounts to 8 million workers. The participants of the movement assume collective responsibility not only for questions of discipline but also for product quality and for reduction of labor losses, including due to temporary incapacitation.

However, the enormous educational possibilities of this movement are still not being utilized adequately by trade union organizations of, for example, Astrakhan, Vladimir and Volgograd oblasts, the Dagestan ASSR and the central committees of the trade unions of workers in machine building and instrument making, heavy machine building, local industry and municipal and personal service enterprises.

All of us—the trade unions of the primary organizations, the central committees and the trade union councils—must turn the most serious attention to the moral atmosphere in cost accounting collectives, and make sure that phenomena such as self-seeking, mutual protection and unhealthy rivalry could not manifest themselves in them, that moral stimuli would not fall into oblivion, and that propaganda on honorable, conscientious labor would not weaken.

Many trade union committees have recently undertaken measures to improve the organization of the leisure time of the laborers. Many of our clubs, houses and palaces of culture, and sports complexes have started restructuring their activities in this respect. Expansion of financial rights and introduction of cost accounting elements have significantly widened the material possibilities of the cultural and sports institutions of trade unions in terms of organizing the leisure time and pursuits of blue and white collar workers and their families.

There is the concern, however, that too much emphasis is being laid on organizing leisure pursuits in a number of places, that clubs and houses and palaces of culture have divorced themselves from productive life and from the economic and moral problems of labor collectives. In the thirst for profits and for expansion of paid services, some clubs have started winding down people's theaters, amateur art studios, agitation brigades and other creative collectives with the excuse that they do not produce income. All of this must be corrected immediately.

The AUCCTU, its Division of Cultural and Educational Work and the central committees and councils of the trade unions should help enterprise trade union committees more actively to restructure their educational work, to focus it on the labor collectives and on the work stations, to tie it in closely with the real problems troubling the laborers, to improve individual work with people and to awaken, in every Soviet citizen, an organic need to work conscientiously and creatively, to treasure his professional worth and the honor of the labor collective.

In general, many problems that require sensitivity, attention, and effective measures on the part of trade union committees are now arising and will continue to arise in this critical period of restructuring in every labor collective. Letters sent to the AUCCTU and other central organs and to the press show that this is true. They report violations of wage and pay rate policies, inattention to working conditions and to compliance with labor law, and shortcomings in organizing competition and in solving social problems. An assortment of these letters has been distributed to you. Many of them are openly and strongly reproachful of our work and of the inability or reluctance of many trade union committees and trade union executives to see and efficiently solve the problems that arise. It has long been time to put an end to such indifference, comrades, since it is incompatible with fundamental restructuring of the trade unions.

We have, after all, accumulated good work experience at our primary level. Information on this experience has been distributed to you as well. Our main task today is to bring this experience to the awareness of every primary trade union organization, and help it exercise its rights and possibilities in behalf of the interests of the laborers to the fullest.

Actively Participating in Development of Democracy and Self-Management in Production [subhead]

Comrades! The foremost and most important responsibility of the trade unions in the present stage of restructuring the economy's management is all-out development of socialist self-management by the labor collectives, active participation in the creation of labor collective councils and provision of full assistance and support to them.

The laborers of our country are actively supporting measures implemented on the party's initiative to develop democracy and self-management in production. Despite the fact that the USSR Law on the State Enterprise will not go into effect until next year, labor collective councils have already been created and are presently operating at thousands of enterprises in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, other union republics, motor vehicle, tractor and agricultural machine building, chemical, petrochemical, textile and light industry and construction organizations. Councils are being created in shops and other subdivisions of many enterprises. Thus 184 councils are operating in all production operations and shops of the AvtoVAZ Association, and there are around 3,000 brigade councils, to which 22,000 persons have been elected, including 20,000 workers.

Proceeding in the manner spelled out by the 18th Trade Union Congress, many trade union committees are assuming the responsibility for placing the labor collective councils on their feet, they are taking a direct active part in their formation, in preparation and conduct of meetings (conferences) of labor collectives to elect the councils, in selection of candidates and in discussion of the latter in subdivision collectives, and they are imparting the needed glasnost to all of this work.

By studying the initial experience in forming labor collective councils and organizing their activities we can arrive at some practical conclusions and determine what must be done to ensure these organs of worker self-management would gather strength faster and confirm the high role ascribed to them in the fight to raise production effectiveness and in social development.

The work experience of the labor collective councils of the AvtoVAZ, BelavtoMAZ, Prikarpatles and Azerelektromash associations, the Moscow Frezer Plant, Trust No 18 of Glavmosoblstroy, Leningrad's Automotive Enterprise No 71 and a number of other enterprises is widely known. These councils have already confirmed their place quite emphatically in management of all affairs of the labor collectives, they have taken on urgent production and social problems, and they have started resolving fundamental issues in order to ensure normal operation of the economic mechanism. The positive work experience of certain councils is described in the information that has been distributed to you, which was prepared by AUCCTU divisions.

But unfortunately development of self-management and creation of labor collective councils is proceeding successfully far from everywhere. Trade union agencies of Armenia, Lithuania, Turkmenistan and Lipetsk and Arkhangelsk oblasts are not exerting any noticeable influence on this process. In many cases the new organ of self-management is left to its own devices, such that it either fails to display the needed aggressiveness or digresses to petty current problems, transforming into just another watchdog. Members of the council and the laborers and young people making it up are not encouraged to help study the issues, and efforts to achieve glasnost in the fulfillment of adopted decisions and proposals from the laborers are poorly organized. Surveys have shown that over two-thirds of the workers of some enterprises do not know what the councils are supposed to do, or they have an extremely fuzzy idea about their work. We are to blame for this, since the trade unions are supposed to be deeply interested in effective, real self-management in labor collectives.

The quantitative composition of the councils is often determined thoughtlessly as well. For example, an excessively large labor collective council containing hundreds of members could hardly display the needed mobility and effectiveness in its work. In particular 360 persons—that is, 1 out of every 10 workers—were elected to the council of the Kalinin Fiber Glass Plant. The right to establish the composition of a council remains of course with the general meeting of the collective. But when they prepare their proposals the administration and the trade union committee must approach them more thoughtfully, they must ensure not only the required representation of the subdivisions and of different social groups of workers, but also the possibility for regular effective work by the council.

It is not right when an excessively large number of officials and an inadequate number of laborers and young people are elected to the labor collective council, or when seats are reserved for executives of business and social agencies who are put on the council automatically, without elections—with the privileges of so-called "permanent" members. For example a statute adopted by the Omsk Instrument Making Plant stipulates that the director, the chief engineer, shop and division chiefs, their deputies and executives of most social organizations and formations are mandatorily included on the council. As a result only 25 percent of the 183 members of the council are laborers.

The question often asked in labor collectives is this: "What is the most expedient way to select the council chairman?" As we know, the Law on the State Enterprise does not provide any direction in this matter. Every collective and every council elected by it is entitled to independently decide who is to lead the council. But the first statistics that have come in show something interesting. For example the top administrative executives head 70 percent of the councils in Chelyabinsk Oblast, while laborers head only 12 percent. The overwhelming majority of the councils in Belorussia and in Ivanovo Oblast are also operating under the guidance of directors. Of the 1,400 labor collective councils that have been created in Moscow Oblast, only 14, or 1 percent, are headed by laborers.

In a number of cases laborers interpret assignment of one person to the position of director, who carries out all executive functions, and leader of the collective management organ as a lack of confidence in them, and in such cases the council is viewed as the director's consultative body.

At the same time there are also cases where the trade union committee chairman is elected to be chairman of the labor collective council. Although once again this is a matter for the labor collectives themselves to decide, in the opinion of the AUCCTU Presidium this should not be the way things are done. As it stands the chairman of the trade union committee already chairs the largest independent public organization of laborers, one which occupies its own important place in the system of self-management, and such combination will not expand but on the contrary constrict democracy at the enterprise. The experience of the AvtoVAZ, Bakelektropribor and Krasnodarselmash associations, the Krivorozhstal Combine, Motor Vehicle Enterprise No 71 in Leningrad and of many collectives in Voroshilovgrad and Donetsk Oblasts, in Moldavia and in Kazakhstan, where the leading laborers are elected to be chairmen of the labor collective councils, and the work experience of many councils headed by specialists shows that they are managing successfully with this social responsibility. Thus the collective itself and its council must elect a chairman who has earned their complete trust.

The trade union committees need to organize interaction with the labor collective councils faster. Some comrades perceive this interaction predominantly as joint meetings. Of course, the council and the trade union committee can and must examine certain issues jointly—ones such as approving the terms of the socialist competition and summarizing its results, drafting collective contracts and monitoring fulfillment of bilateral obligations. But we must not simplify the situation and reduce all interaction to just this form. Every such organ has its own tasks and its own rights.

The tasks of the council are clearly defined by the Law on the State Enterprise. The powers and the range of responsibilities of the trade union committee are defined by the Charter of the USSR Trade Unions and by the charters of the sector trade unions. They have no need to duplicate the activities of labor collective councils.

The contribution of the trade union organization should be envisioned not as making decisions on problems concerned with development of production, with its reconstruction and so on, but rather as implementing measures directed at activating the human factor and at

displaying daily, multifaceted concern for working conditions, for the personal life and leisure time of blue and white collar workers and for their education.

Of course this approach does not at all mean that the trade union committee is prohibited from considering certain issues. Being a representative of the interests of trade union members, the trade union committee can and must voice its point of view on any issue, be it fulfillment of planned quotas or utilization of economic stimulation funds, personnel training or selection of administrators. It must prepare its position on these issues beforehand, and when necessary it must suggest alternatives to certain decisions. When it becomes necessary, these issues must be examined beforehand at a meeting of the trade union committee, the advice of active trade union members must be sought, and well-grounded proposals must be generated and then defended in the labor collective council through its representatives.

Relying on the authority of the council, the decisions of which are binding on the administration, the trade union committee must bring social problems of vital importance to the laborers up for discussion by the labor collective council, take a direct part in preparing the necessary materials and draft resolutions, and ensure their unconditional fulfillment. But it may also happen that the council might not support the opinion of the trade union committee regarding a specific socioeconomic issue. In such a case the trade union committee, if it has adequate grounds for doing so, may express its views to a meeting (conference) of the labor collective, which is then entitled to make the final decision.

The trade union committee cannot refuse to participate in preparations for and conduct of general meetings (conferences) of blue and white collar workers, which are the principal way in which labor collectives exercise their powers. Such meetings are empowered with extensive rights in resolving the most important issues concerning the activities of an enterprise. The trade union committee must display initiative in submitting problems affecting the interests of all laborers and individual social groups of workers to examination by general meetings, it must promote active participation of trade union members in their discussion, and it must provide help to the council in organizing fulfillment of adopted resolutions.

There is no way that I can agree with the opinion held in some places that creation of labor collective councils diminishes the role of the trade union committees. There are no grounds for such apprehensions.

It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum that when the economic independence of enterprises and associations is amplified, their rights are expanded significantly as well. Concurrently their responsibility rises significantly in connection with growth of the powers of the labor collectives and with development of self-management. These principles are documented in the Law on the State Enterprise itself. As you can see, what is happening here is that the role of trade unions as the most important element of socialist self-management is increasing.

In particular, the role of the protective functions of the trade union organization is growing stronger rather than weaker in response to expansion of self-management. This includes its role in reconciling the lawful interests of laborers, labor collectives, and the society at large. The trade union is called upon to protect blue and white collar workers from any decisions, even if they have been approved by the labor collective council, if they infringe upon the legal rights of laborers. In such situations the trade union committee is obligated to see to the repeal of such decisions by the established procedure. The main thing is for the trade union committee and the labor collective council to unite their efforts on behalf of attaining common goals, to effectively utilize the resources and methods unique to both of these independent public bodies, and to base all of their work on the principle that democratization and self-management are the most important prerequisites of restructuring. And the success of the restructuring effort itself and of attaining its inspiring goals as specified in decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress will depend on the manner in which this process develops.

Organizational Work in Primary Trade Union Organizations Must Meet the Requirements of Restructuring [subhead]

Comrades! Let me focus on some problems of mass organizational work in the primary trade union organizations under the new economic and self-management conditions. These problems evoked the greatest debate and the largest number of proposals from trade union workers and active members in the course of the preparations for the plenum.

In the main, these proposals boil down to reorganizing the forms and methods of trade union work at the enterprises and in the institutions in the appropriate manner under the new conditions of self-management, to promoting wider and more active participation of trade union members in the life of their organization, and in satisfying modern requirements on democratization and glasnost fully—that is, doing a better job in fulfilling the main purpose of the trade union committee—being a school of management and economics for all laborers.

The election campaign has only just come to an end in the primary trade union organizations, but it has already become all the more obvious that trade union members favor wider development of trade union democracy. They no longer wish to condone those trade union committees and executives who do not work actively and who do not state their own positions on issues affecting the rights and vital interests of the laborers. Numerous

constructive proposals on intensifying the activities of trade union committees were suggested by trade union members in election meetings and conferences.

On the initiative of trade union members, many of the trade union organizations have conducted preliminary discussions in trade union groups and shop organizations on candidates for the trade union committees, and held direct elections of their representatives from several candidates in election meetings.

In a word, restructuring is having a noticeable influence on the life of the primary unit of the trade union system. Our task is to wholly support and develop this process.

It is impossible not to see that interest in trade union meetings and conferences has declined in many organizations. The trade union committees are themselves to blame for this. They perpetually bring up practically the same issues, work-related for the most part, for discussion in trade union meetings, and they count on speeches by "regular orators" to keep things going. Many trade union members say they see no difference between the meetings and conferences conducted by trade union organizations and the meetings and conferences conducted by the labor collectives. This is a serious condemnation of the organizers of trade union meetings.

We need to emphasize the following in this connection. The general meeting (conference) of the labor collective is the principal means by which it exercises its powers. As the law states, its purpose is to elect the enterprise leader and the council of the labor collective, to entertain reports on their activities, to examine and approve plans for the enterprise's economic and social development, to determine the ways to increase labor productivity and profit, raise production effectiveness and product quality and strengthen the production operation's material and equipment base, to approve collective contracts, to adopt socialist pledges, to approve the rules of internal procedures and to examine other important issues concerned with the enterprise's work.

The program of activity of the labor collective's supreme organ of self- management is quite vast; it is specified by the Law on the State Enterprise. The primary trade union organizations have their own specific responsibilities assigned only to them. They are required to examine, at trade union meetings and conferences, a wide range of issues foreseen by the charter and by the requirements of internal trade union democracy.

As I noted earlier, the significance of mass production and economic work organized by trade union committees is growing considerably under the new conditions. This is particularly true of certain aspects of this work such as eliminating economic illiteracy of workers and participating actively in implementation of measures to introduce new pay rates and salaries and new terms for paying bonuses.

The primary trade union organization possesses a wide range of important powers and responsibilities pertaining to state social insurance for laborers, to managing its own budget, to improving working conditions, to implementing measures jointly with public health organs to prevent morbidity and improve medical services to laborers, to organize their leisure time and to improve the living conditions of children. All of these are subjects of constant concern on the part of the enterprise trade union committee.

The primary organization, its general meetings and conferences and the trade union committee must devote constant attention to improving the housing and personal conditions of laborers, to building and distributing housing and to bringing personal services closer to the work station.

The significance of educational work organized by trade unions in the labor collectives, including in their own cultural and educational institutions, at sports complexes and at the places where the laborers live is constantly growing.

As you can see, all of these are areas in the life of the labor collective which all members of the trade unions and their meetings and conferences are deeply interested in developing.

The trade union committees are obligated to report regularly to trade union meetings on the work they are doing, and to submit estimates for expenditure of trade union assets and other problems of internal trade union life for their discussion. I do not think there is any need to regulate from above precisely what problems should be brought up for discussion in trade union meetings, or compose instructions in this regard. The problems discussed in each organization must be its own, problems brought up by the laborers, by life itself and by the requirements of the trade union charter.

For these reasons I cannot agree with some comrades who propose that we should identify the trade union meeting or conference with the labor collective meeting or conference at the enterprise or even the shop level.

At the same time it would seem suitable to express approval for proposals stated in the course of preparations for the plenum that the procedure of convening trade union conferences should be simplified, especially a. large enterprises.

Today each time we wish to convene a conference we must elect delegates at shop meetings. We would have to agree this is a troublesome chore and the procedure is rather cumbersome. Of course when the discussion turns to convening election conferences we cannot deviate from this requirement of the charter. But in all other cases the procedure can in fact be simplified.

In this connection many comrades propose granting shop organizations and trade union groups the right to elect, with the consent of the trade union committees, their own permanent delegates to the trade union conference for the term of office of the trade union committee. This practice will in fact make it possible to convene trade union conferences more regularly and efficiently, and it will enlarge their control over the trade union committee's work. Moreover the more permanent delegates will themselves feel high responsibility for the state of affairs in the primary organization. Many suggest that all trade union group organizers should become permanent delegates. It is assumed in this case that irrespective of whether he is a permanent delegate or not, every member of the trade union retains the full right to participate in any trade union conference. Perhaps the correctness of this measure should be tested against someone's experience. Let's discuss this proposal, comrades.

For both the trade union as a whole, and of course chiefly the primary organizations, public support and reliance upon active members have been and continue to be the foundation of all of their activities. Real changes are being achieved in trade union work through the efforts of the entire multimillion army of active trade union members. They are the ones who push forward all of our multifaceted organizational and educational work. I could present an unending list of examples of their disinterested labor and the devotion of active members to their public duty, which deserves deep respect and gratefulness.

There are many examples of proper, good organization of work with active members by the trade union committees. A certain system of such work has been organized in particular at the Plant imeni Vladimir Ilich in Moscow, at the Kirov Plant in Leningrad, at the Cheboksary Industrial Tractor Plant, at the Ryazan Computer Production Association, at the Severodonetsk Azot Production Association, at the Minsk Integral Association and at a number of other enterprises.

But the general level of work with active members does not yet satisfy us.

Now that the possibilities of each production subdivision are widening significantly in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise, and now that cost accounting brigades are being moved to the forefront in the struggle for highly effective work, the role of shop trade union organizations and trade union groups is increasing dramatically.

In my opinion the most urgent tasks of the shop committees in enterprises in the material production sphere include participating in the effort to form the shop councils of the labor collectives and to organize their work, organizing general economic training for workers, participating in the preparation and conversion of their collectives to contract work and cost accounting, creating quality control groups and organizing their work, fundamentally improving working conditions and labor protection, concerning themselves with the workers, and especially those of second and third shifts, and improving constant leadership by trade union group organizers and assistance to them in organizing the work.

We have somewhat intensified our attention toward the trade union groups and toward the trade union group organizers—the largest detachment of active trade union members, and we have achieved a situation where trade union groups are now operating in practically all brigades. In 1982-1986 the number of trade union groups increased by more than 900,000, reaching almost 4 million.

It is precisely primarily through them that we can reach every blue and white collar worker, do individual work with them, know their needs and requests, show concern for satisfying them, and efficiently bring current tasks to the awareness of all trade union members.

The trade union committee chairman, executives and the leading specialists of, for example, the Plant imeni Chkalov in Novosibirsk, who regularly meet directly with trade union group organizers and brigade leaders, are doing the right thing. Through them they direct the efforts of the entire collective of the enterprise.

In today's conditions the trade union groups must also become active participants of restructuring the economic mechanism, and make a real effort to achieve the following objectives:

in each brigade—achieving full cost accounting and creating schools of socialist economics;

in each trade union group—achieving zero violations of labor discipline and of public order.

I believe all of the efforts to economize on material resources and to fulfill the decision of the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress to have every labor collective work 2 days a year with economized materials, fuel and electric power will begin namely in the brigades, in the trade union groups.

The activity of trade union groups must also be significantly increased in relation to the problems of organizing wages. The trade union group is called upon to become a unique guarantor of the fact that all problems in the life of the brigade collective would be solved from the standpoint of social justice and order, and that every member of the trade union group would promptly receive the assistance and support he needs in satisfying his social and personal needs.

In compliance with a decision of the 18th Trade Union Congress and with regard for proposals from active trade union members we have started publishing the quarterly

SPUTNIK PROFGRUPORGA [TRADE UNION GROUP ORGANIZER'S COMPANION]. We hope the SPUTNIK will be of much assistance to trade union group organizers and trade union committees in organizing the work of trade union groups.

There is one other important circumstance associated with raising the role of shop committees and trade union committee commissions.

The fact is that even prior to expansion of the independence of the enterprises, the administration could have carried out over 70 of its managerial functions either jointly with the trade union committee or in consultation with it. Now that the Law on the State Enterprise has gone into effect, the number of such issues will increase noticeably.

Under these conditions the chairman of the trade union committee unavoidably finds himself facing one of two identically undesirable choices—either calling a meeting of trade union committee members just about every day or, ignoring the principles of collective leadership, making decisions on his own, which cannot be allowed.

In this connection the AUCCTU Presidium supports and submits for examination to the plenum a proposal to grant trade union committees (irrespective of whether they are endowed with the rights of a raykom or no<) the possibility for transferring some of their functions to shop committees (trade union buros), primarily of course regarding issues which apply to the corresponding production subdivisions.

Trade union committee commissions, which are chaired as a rule by committee members, must also operate more independently. Today, for example, the commission for social insurance grants aid and does other work on its own. But why not provide it with the same right in issuing leave passes, of course with the participation of interested persons—that is, the blue and white collar workers themselves. This commission could assist enterprise and organization administrations more actively in doing the paperwork of granting pensions to laborers.

The commission for labor protection could also be given greater rights to independently solve problems associated with establishing the work-rest schedule, providing protective clothing, footwear and individual protective devices, combining occupations and so on. In this case the trade union committees would retain the right to decide on the larger and more fundamental issues, as well as on issues associated with overtime, with labor disputes including the firing of workers, and with housing allocations as requested by housing and personal service commissions.

Once again, it would be wrong to require trade union committees to do all of this in response to orders from above and written instructions. The trade union committees should be granted the right to themselves determine the functions of the commissions, which the latter carry out on their own. Moreover, the trade union committee should retain control over their work and the right to examine disputes. Once again in my opinion this should be done not only and not so much as a means to take some of the load off the trade union committee, but mainly to raise the authority and role of the shop committees, the trade union committee commissions and active trade union members, so that participation in trade union work would in fact become a real school of management for them.

Maximum openness and glasnost have fundamentally important significance to restructuring our work. Such exposure would help to reveal and prevent shortcomings, encourage broad strata of trade union members to join the struggle against them and promote stronger ties between trade union organs and the masses.

It must be said, however, that while the need for such work is quite obvious, it is not very well set up in many primary organizations. Surveys of trade union members show that many of them do not have the slightest idea of what the trade union committee is doing.

Glasnost of trade union work would become systematic and mandatory, I think we must require:

that meetings of trade union committees and shop committees should be carried out on the basis of an open door policy;

that regular reporting by trade union committees to trade union meetings on progress in fulfilling decisions of prior meetings and that reporting on their own work should become mandatory practices;

that information on the work of the trade union committee should be carried constantly by wall newspapers, large-circulation literature and local radio.

Democratization of the trade unions must be accompanied by firmer order and organization in their ranks, and by an increase in responsibility for complying with requirements of the charter. All new trade union members must be acquainted with the charter and with the norms of trade union life thoroughly, and not just casually. An approach that is just as thoughtful and calculated is also required in questions of expulsion from the trade union. We must always remember that trade unions are educational organizations.

Much attention was turned by the trade union congress to improving management of primary organizations by higher trade union organs and to fundamentally restructuring the style of their work. It may be noted that many trade union councils and committees have reduced the

number of meetings they hold, the number of issues they discuss at these meetings and the number of resolutions they adopt and disseminate; they are beginning to distance themselves from the detached, paper-shuffling style of management. The center of their organizational activity is shifting into the labor collectives and primary trade union organizations, and the end goal of their work is becoming not a measure but the practical result it produces.

This approach is typical of the work style of the Orel Oblast Trade Union Council (N.D. Tsikorev, chairman). It has focused its main attention on raising the level of the work of primary trade union organizations, on providing practical assistance to trade union committees, chiefly in lagging enterprises, organizing training and briefing of active trade union members right within the collectives, and disseminating the best experience in trade union work.

The Belorussian Republic Trade Union Council (V.I. Goncharik, chairman) has assigned each official of its administration to specific primary organizations to provide assistance to them. It deeply analyzed the work of the trade union organizations under the new economic methods and self-management conditions, and it determined the ways to raise their role in solving socioeconomic problems.

Major changes are occurring in the forms and methods of the work done by the Kazakh, Latvian and Azerbaijan republic councils, the Penza, Kemerovo and Tomsk oblast councils and by the central committee of the trade union of coal industry workers.

At the same time, in the course of a sociological study carried out by the AUCCTU Scientific Center in 30 of the country's oblasts, including Vladimir, Ivanovo, Omsk, Saratov and others, two-thirds of the interviewed trade union committee chairmen declared that they were still dissatisfied with the leadership provided to primary organizations by higher trade union organs.

The passion for conducting inspections of trade union committees, requiring reports of them and conducting all kinds of conferences has not yet been dispelled everywhere. There is still a lack of needed coordination between trade union central committees and councils in the management of primary organizations. Much blame for this is borne by the AUCCTU Secretariat and the AUCCTU Division of Organizational Work.

Today, under the new economic and management conditions, the issues that must become the basis for the activity of trade union central committees and the problems which the trade union councils have great possibilities for solving are standing out much more clearly. The most important task of the trade union central committees and councils is to provide enterprise trade union committees assistance in solving problems which are outside the competency of primary organizations and oblast trade union committees and which require implementation of certain measures by ministries and departments. Many trade union central committees and trade union councils are still doing a bad job of this. The central committee of the trade union of construction workers and workers in construction materials industry confined its role in fulfilling requests submitted to the sector congress in behalf of primary organizations to sending the corresponding letters to ministries and departments. The trade union central committee is still not fully certain what action has been taken on these requests and what answers have been given to congress delegates. Out of 43 requests submitted to the central committee of the trade union of workers in ship building industry from election conferences, it has not even tried to act on 18 of them. This is impermissible, comrades.

The leadership provided to small primary organizations, which dominate trade unions for laborers in administration and services, requires significantly greater attention. There are raykoms within the structure of these trade unions. But at this time their influence on primary organizations is insignificant. No one is directing or coordinating the activities of primary organizations regarding problems of interest to the rayon.

The experience of trade union organs in the Georgian and Armenian SSR, in Krasnodar Kray, in Voronezh, Orel and Penza Oblasts and in a number of other regions, where coordinating trade union councils that strive to unite the efforts of the trade union organizations in solving social and educational problems and implement measures to disseminate the best work experience and improve the organization of their activities have been created and are functioning on the basis of public support, deserves support in this respect.

The existing structure of the trade unions was subjected to valid criticism at the 18th congress. Mention was made of the proliferation of their organizational units and levels of authority, and of the abundance of trade union organs, each one trying to boss a primary organization. Proposals for setting the structure of the trade unions right were submitted in the course of preparations for this plenum. The proposals suggest different, sometimes rather contradictory ideas.

In accordance with decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum control over the national economy is improving, national economic complexes are being created, ministries are being consolidated, their functions are being changed, state production associations are forming, and the sectors are being converted primarily to a two-level system of control. Concurrently the territorial aspect of the economy's control is intensifying.

Naturally as these transformations occur, while we do not wish to anticipate events, we must not lag behind them either: We need to make the corresponding changes in the structure of the trade union, both in sector and

territorial cross sections, so that it would fully correspond to the structure of the economy's management. The trade union's administrative machinery must be reduced further by simplifying its structure, concentrating forces in the most important directions and eliminating redundancy in the work of sector and territorial organs. We need to prepare for these changes right now.

Considering it is fundamentally important to improve the structure of the trade unions in the present stage of restructuring, a proposal was submitted to create a special AUCCTU commission during this plenum to examine proposals concerned with this issue. Its conclusions should be discussed at the next AUCCTU plenum.

The new working conditions of primary trade union organizations require a better-organized system for training trade union committee chairmen and all active trade union members, one which is oriented more specifically on these conditions. Recently the AUCCTU Presidium examined a complex of issues associated with the entire system for training and advanced training of trade union personnel and active members, and it prepared proposals which are to be discussed with you before any decisions are made.

We need to bring the entire network of our training institutions closer to this category of workers, we need to help create and organize the work of schools for active trade union members at large enterprises and in the rayon and city committees for small organizations, we need to raise the level of instruction courses administered by the trade union councils, we need to encourage people who are really knowledgeable about both the trade unions and economics to act as instructors, we need to make a special effort to train officials of trade union councils and committees to serve as such instructors, and perhaps we should also create a special subdivision under the AUCCTU Higher School of Trade Unionism.

In 1988 our entire system of personnel training and cross-training must be oriented on studying the new economic methods, self-financing, the procedures for drawing up economic standards for forming and using stimulation funds, other features of the economic mechanism and the principles of self-management; trade union workers and active members must acquire the needed knowledge and experience to confidently organize trade union work under the new conditions with high competency.

The coming year, 1988, is going to be an unusually difficult one. New forms of work with primary organizations and of their interaction with labor collective councils, including in regard to introducing cost accounting, new wage and bonus payment conditions and other issues, will be practically implemented. Considering this, we need to organize special stations right within the AUCCTU and in the central trade union committees and councils to render direct consultative assistance to trade union workers and active members by telephone and through personal meetings. Experienced workers capable of providing qualified advice and the needed consultation should be put on permanent duty at these stations. Active trade union members must be made widely aware of the creation of these stations and their locations. The AUCCTU Scientific Center must take a more active part in organizing training for trade union personnel and active members, in providing scientific and methodological assistance to trade union councils and committees in this effort, and in efficiently disseminating the work experience of the trade unions under the new conditions.

Chairmen of the trade union committees must devote special attention to work with personnel and active members. They are to play the decisive role in restructuring the work of our trade unions. The 700,000-strong detachment of representatives of the trade union committees of primary organizations include many real champions of restructuring.

Here is what workers of the locomotive depot at Mineralnyye Vody Station write about their trade union committee chairman Valeriy Nikolayevich Berlov: "A modest working man, he began his labor career as a fitter, soon after that he became an assistant engine driver and then he became a locomotive engine driver. While working at his hard railroad job he enrolled in the institute and successfully defended his diplomas. For his experience and his diligence he was appointed as an instructor engine driver. This is where his ability to work with people developed. He approaches every problem respectfully, conscientiously, but with the needed measure of exactingness. His collective did not err when it selected him as chairman of the trade union committee. Rolling up his sleeves, Valeriy Nikolayevich attacked his new job with his usual manner. A year is a short time. But it is enough to look a person over from all sides. He put an end to special favors in assigning apartments, places in children's nurseries and sanatorium passes. He never settles for compromises, and he is not afraid of souring relationships with the administration. We have long needed such a chairman. We will not shout his praises from the mountaintops. But people like him are precisely the kind who make restructuring work."

An example of energetic organizational work in the conditions of restructuring is demonstrated by the following trade union committee chairmen: Yuriy Mikhaylovich Kulemin of the Gorkovskiy Avtomobilnyy Zavod Production Association, Ismail Khalmatovich Aripov of the Tashkent Housing Construction Combine No 1, Svetlana Lvovna Onofriyenko of the Bendery Furniture Factory, Nikolay Ilich Milyutin of the Bryanskavtotrans Automotive Enterprise and many others.

Trade union councils and committees are obligated to display constant concern for the authority of the trade union committees, and to act with principles against attempts to infringe upon their powers. Here is an

example of the kind of things that should not be allowed to happen: The trade union committee of the Urengoypromstroy Trust expelled V.Ye. Gumenskiy, chief of one of the administrations, from the trade union because of his failure to implement winter preparation measures, his disregard for the needs of the laborers, and his neglect of the trade union committees of the trust and the administration. But rather than supporting the trade union committee, the Tyumen Obkom of the trade union for petroleum and gas industry workers repealed this decision.

I feel we need to give support to proposals by trade union members to provide additional legal safeguards to elected active trade union members: Additional guarantees to elected active trade union members foreseen by law (against transfer to other work, disciplinary punishments and dismissal) should remain in effect for 1 or 2 years after the term of their authority expires; dismissal of elected trade union active members occupying positions for which disciplinary responsibility is established should be permitted with the consent of not only the higher trade union organ but also the trade union committee of the primary organization. Of course these guarantees must not apply to those trade union workers who were relieved of their duties or not reelected owing to poor work. These and other proposals should be attentively examined during discussion of the USSR Law on the Rights of Trade Unions and of its main section, the Statute on the Rights of the Trade Union Committee.

Very many different conclusions and proposals are associated with the need for providing better conditions for working chairmen of trade union committees to perform their public duties—especially workers employed in material production, and to compensate them in some way for possible loss of pay. Although as you can well understand this is not a simple problem, we cannot ignore it any longer. Let us get together at our plenum and discuss how to best handle this case.

If the plenum were to agree, the AUCCTU Presidium could draft a corresponding proposal on this issue.

As far as executives of trade union central committees and councils are concerned, it should be said that not all of them have fully perceived the requirements of the times and of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum concerning the need for decisively rejecting formalism, pretentiousness and disrespect of the opinions of others, and for nurturing a sense of personal modesty and discipline in oneself and in one's subordinates.

The participants of the plenum obviously know that G.M. Pyzhik, Lvov Oblast trade union council chairman, who lost his moral right to head the trade union council, was recently dismissed from his responsibilities. There are also serious shortcomings in the work being done by A.S. Iskhanov, Bashkir Oblast trade union council chairman.

The situation where there seem to be no serious violations or deviations from adopted norms in the work of the trade union council or committee but where no noticeable improvements occur either, where things are all peaceful and quiet, just like they were 5 or 10 years ago, cannot be ignored.

Such lack of initiative, such inertia and such satisfaction with insignificant accomplishments in work are typical of the trade union councils of Tula Oblast (S.A. Dyakov, chairman), Pskov Oblast (D.N. Vasilyev, chairman), Kalmyk Oblast (N.I. Ponomar, chairman), Dzhambul Oblast (A. Zhunisaliyev, chairman), Surkhan-Darya Oblast (A.Kh. Astanakulov, chairman) and some others.

We rightfully expect to see great initiatives from E.A. Abakirov, Kirghiz Republic Trade Union Council chairman, O. I. Ishankuliyeva, Turkmen Republic Trade Union Council chairman, and trade union central committee chairmen N.I. Zinovyev, N.P. Simochatov, A.G. Burimovich and N.L. Matrosova.

The AUCCTU Presidium and Secretariat and its divisions are significantly at fault for the fact that the work of trade union councils and committees is being restructured too slowly, that it is falling behind the requirements and objectives of the present stage, and that shortcomings in personnel work are condoned.

There is only one way out of this: All of us—AUCCTU Presidium and Secretariat and the executive organs of the trade union committees and councils—must seriously improve all of our organizational work with personnel, and help them assume an active position in restructuring. Specific deeds are now becoming the criterion by which to evaluate our personnel.

I would like to express the confidence that AUCCTU members and candidate members will be the most active supporters of this principled line, and of the decisions which we will have to make today regarding the main issue of all subsequent restructuring of the trade unions.

Comrades! Discussing the tasks of the trade unions, V.I. Lenin emphasized back in the second year of Soviet rule that "...the trade unions should think most of all about one of the most profound and famous statements made by the founders of modern communism: 'The wider and deeper the revolution occurring in society, the more people there should be who carry out this revolution and who are the creators of this revolution in the real meaning of the word'." This commandment of Lenin's to the Soviet trade unions still defines the entire essence of their participation in restructuring today, in carrying out a renewal of revolutionary significance in all aspects of our society's life.

As was recently noted at a CPSU Central Committee meeting, restructuring means millions of new apartments, thousands of new schools and hospitals, theaters and sports complexes, improvements in food supply and product quality, and democratization of all social life. But this can be achieved only through hard, highly productive labor, organization, discipline and responsibility, cohesiveness, and unity of action. This means restructuring will affect every collective, every society.

To decisively improve the work of primary trade union organizations operating directly within the labor collectives, at the front line of the struggle to accelerate socioeconomic development, means to help the party carry out the main task of the second stage of restructuring, to ensure the 110 million members of the trade unions take a more active part in the effort.

There is no cause more important to us right now, comrades!

In the present stage, the trade unions and their primary organizations are acquiring additional possibilities for encouraging laborers to participate even more widely and actively in all spheres of social life, in deepening democratization at the work place and in self-management—possibilities for increasing their concern for the working man, for his material welfare and for his physical and spiritual development.

The trade unions are tied to the working class and to all laborers by thousands of threads. Representing and defending their interests, they possess truly boundless rights and enormous material possibilities for performing their functions today.

Soviet trade unions enjoy the constant support of the Communist Party, which is deeply interested in seeing the trade union organizations work more actively, maintain a firm position and clearly pursue the line of defending the interests of the laborers.

Let me express the confidence, comrades, that the country's trade unions will carry out the important tasks facing them, and multiply their contribution to fulfilling the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Briefs

Editor's Decoration

Albert Andreyevich Belyayev, editor-in-chief of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, has been given an Order of the October Revolution by decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for his services in Soviet journalism and in connection with his 60th birthday. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 88 LD*]

Handbook on Financial Autonomy

The publishers of POLITICHESKAYA LITERATURA have brought out a handbook titled "Financial Autonomy, Self-Recouping, and Self-Financing: Problems and Experience," compiled from articles published in periodicals, relating the crucial problems and tasks of the Soviet economy. The authors are scientists, economic managers and journalists. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 0630 GMT 20 Feb 88 LD*]

Book on Baykal Ecology

The East Siberian Publishing House has issued a book entitled "In Defense of Baykal" [Slovo v Zashchitu Baykala], a collection of material on the Baykal ecological debate. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Feb 88 LD*]

Narcotic Figures

A representative of the Soviet Ministry of the Interior has said that in a bid to stamp out drug addiction last year 42 tonnes of narcotics were confiscated, more than 140,000 hectares of wild hemp were destroyed, and control over the distribution of drug medicines was tightened. As a result, fewer crimes were committed by drug addicts, but the problem has remained burning. There are 50,000 registered drug addicts in this country. Various measures are adopted to build up the struggle against the dangerous practice. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 28 Feb 88 LD*]